NUCLEAR WAR BY THE SEA **HARVEY WASSERMAN**

THE NATION

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Returning to Relevance
CAN THE G.O.P. MAKE IT?
Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr.

The New German Repression
MARTIN OPPENHEIMER

Congressional Staffs on the Spo
J. DANIEL O'FLAHERTY

CHALLENGING THE ARAB BOYCOTT
Barry Rubin

Northern Europe's Labor Laboratory
WILLIAM B. GOULD

Energy and States' Rights
MEG LUNDSTROM

Zuckerman / America Confronts a Revolutionary World

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LETTERS

shall we pray?

Fresno, Calif.

I was pleased to read Carey McWilliams's "The New Fundamentalists" [*The Nation,* June 5]. It is important that secular journals such as yours become involved in discussing the contemporary religious scene. As McWilliams points out in his concluding paragraph, there "can be no blinking the fact that the new fundamentalism is playing a significant role in the politics of the 1970s. . . ."

I am inclined to think that a man's approach to religion is the chief thing about him and creatively determines the rest. From an evangelical agnostic's point of view, as distinct from the evangelical Christian position about which McWilliams wrote, a person's religion should encourage open-mindedness in looking at all sides of issues with as little bias as possible, it should insist on valid and objective evidence before coming to definite conclusions, and it should help one to live with the realization that final answers to the big questions about our existence will probably continue to be beyond us.

For the sake of an increasing dialogue in the field of religion, please keep giving us more articles such as Carey McWilliams's.

William Henry Young, Executive Secretary
The Society of Evangelical Agnostics

Oakland, Calif.

Carey McWilliams recognized a rise of a new wave of evangelism, and a repetition of the unfortunate consequences of the mixture of religion and politics. I question the propriety of the folk custom of religious prayer at public secular events. It is out of place and demeaning. . . .

The first sessions of Congress in 1789 did not open with prayer. The first inauguration to include prayer was that of Cleveland in 1885. The first Presidential annual message to be preceded by prayer was given in 1905. Religious prayer is now routinely included on all these occasions. I do not believe precedent should carry any weight.

If an invocation is needed to bring individuals to focus attention on the business of the day, it may better be accomplished by reading the U.S. Constitution. . . .

We have seen religious prayer used as a screen for all sorts of irregularities and illegalities. A successful attack on this folk custom would provide an opportunity to emphasize again a clear separation of church and state. Let us start by omitting this folk custom from the next inaugural ceremony.

Marion M. Sandomire

abortion denied

Jacksonville, Fla.

In reference to your editorial "Abortions Denied" by Lawrence Lader [July 17], I am writing to say that I have personally experienced the agony of living in a small Southern town that refused to do a first trimester abortion. My husband had just been laid off work and I couldn't afford to travel to the next big city willing to do the procedure. Luckily I miscarried later. It was a bitter experience.

Political pressure is a terrible thing. Why does the Catholic Church think it has the right to define my morality? Many women are denied *still* the right to control . . . their own lives. Please continue to emphasize such countercurrents to freedom.

Lucy Vogt

The editors welcome letters from readers but regret that space limitations often prevent publication of those of more than 250 words.

EDITORIALS

Lincoln-Douglas & Ford-Carter

The laborious jockeying for advantage which preceded the announcement that the two leading Presidential candidates have agreed on the timing and subject matter of their three debates has inevitably suggested that Messrs. Ford and Carter are more interested in scoring votes than in airing issues. That impression, however, can be readily overcome by the format chosen for the meetings themselves and the forthrightness with which the opponents express and defend their opinions.

To see how these matters should sensibly be handled it is instructive to look back at the most famous and significant debate in American political history, the seven Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois in 1858, but first we might consider where the two champions of 1976 and their handlers have got to in a week of wrangling.

To begin with, it was Ford, the incumbent, who was the challenger. Carter was about to throw down the gauntlet, we are told, but the President beat him to it in his acceptance speech in Kansas City.

"The sooner we get started the better," said Ford on his holiday in Colorado, and he had the nerve to propose that the four-part debate begin within four days of Labor Day (in other words, right away) and to pick the topic, "national security." He also stipulated the duration of each meeting (ninety minutes) and named the other three subjects to be debated (domestic, foreign and economic policy). We will skip over for the moment the legal and bureaucratic complexities surrounding the right to hold these debates at all, on the assumption that these problems can somehow be solved. But they seem to be of such enormous difficulty that already a caseload of lawyers has been put to work untangling them.

It was all very different back in 1858 when Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln were contesting the Illinois seat in the U.S. Senate held by "The Little Giant." Then it was Lincoln the Republican challenger who invited the Democratic incumbent to debate the issues. That was the normal form, and it gave the challenged candidate the right to propose the terms of the debate. This Douglas did and he was tough about it. (Douglas was unhappy about the challenge, recognizing Lincoln's ability; his comment was that "if he gets the best of this debate . . . I shall lose everything. Should I win, I shall gain but little.")

Douglas proposed, and Lincoln agreed, that each of the seven debates would last for three hours. The first speaker would have sixty minutes, followed by ninety minutes from his opponent, with the last thirty minutes going to the first man. Obviously, the first speaker had the advantage, but when Douglas told his opponent that he would speak first in the first debate, Lincoln, the challenger, had no choice but to accept, though he wryly noted in his reply that this gave Douglas four "openings and closes" to his three.

There was absolutely no discussion about topics, no attempt to limit the debate. They would argue what was on everyone's mind, which in that year happened to be the issue of the extension of slavery into the territories

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being incorporated into the United States. But even if that had not been the paramount issue of the day, there would have been no attempt to circumscribe the debate—it would have been regarded as a sign of weakness to do so (*pace* Ford in 1976; Carter said he thought each debate should be wide open; in fact, the last one is designed to be so).

In 1858 Douglas won the election by a small margin and some thought this famous orator won the debates. But the themes Lincoln articulated in those seven Illinois towns, from Ottawa to Alton, propelled him into his party's nomination in 1860 and the nation toward the probably inevitable Civil War.

When they were taking place, they were generally known as the Douglas-Lincoln debates, because the Democrat was so much better known, and it took history to reverse the order of the names. No one has yet suggested that the candidates of 1976 and the topics they will discuss are of the same order of magnitude as their predecessors of 118 years ago, when the survival of the Union was widely seen to be at stake in the choice between their two policies. Will this year's discussions come to be known as the Ford-Carter or the Carter-Ford debates?

Whatever form is chosen, it should be as simple as possible, as a test of the seriousness of the two sides in their professed purpose of enlightening the public on the issues. They should simply divide the time and speak out in open debate. The only person standing between them should be a timekeeper. There should be no journalists probing away in their distracting fashion, as there were in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates (which took twelve negotiating sessions to arrange, even going into trivia like lighting and camera angles).

If the debates are not kept plain and straightforward, they might turn out to be another demonstration of what might be called media-cracy. The excluded nonparty candidate Eugene McCarthy's usual acidulousness ("One reason why we're against these damned debates is because it's another sideshow") might turn out to be right. That need not and should not happen, of course. They could be a serious, even determinant, element of this Presidential campaign. All it takes is a certain common sense on the part of the candidates and a minimum of fiddling by their many busy seconds.

Flip-floppery

The Presidential campaign is off to a wet start. Senator Dole broke down and wept a bit in his Kansas home town after his nomination for the Vice Presidency. President Ford's voice "broke twice with emotion" at Old Faithful, Wyo., according to *The New York Times* (August 30), in memory of himself, forty years ago, as "Ranger Ford" of the national parks. The only dry eyes in the house seem to be Governor Carter's, and the national press is busy reading that tearlessness as another sign that the Democratic nominee may lack "compassion." Shades of Senator Muskie and those fatal tears as he defended his wife on that flatbed truck in the snows of Manchester, N.H. in 1972! Now strong men can weep and get away with it, especially if they happen to be Republicans, who normally are proud of their hard heads,

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not to say hearts (they call the Democrats the party of the "bleeding hearts").

But perhaps we should wait a while and give the Republican ticket a chance to make Carter weep. They obviously mean to try to provoke him into joining the lachrymose troop; that seems to be Dole's specific assignment (why else would he have been picked from the ruck, his erstwhile place?). However, it seems unlikely that his opponents will reduce the dry-eyed Carter to tears. He is clearly not an easy weeper.

The national press has found all sorts of flaws in the character of the Georgian. The most serious one, in the reporters' estimation, is what they see as a lack of a "self-deprecatory sense of humor," which might be called the Gridiron Club deformation. For the rest of us, such criticism of Carter has much comedy to it. It reflects the discomfort many Washington press-corps types have with a candidate who does not come from their familiar little world. They were at ease with the men who for years emerged for Presidential campaigns from the Capitol cloakrooms. They have a hard time figuring out how to depict and deal with a Governor, and a Southern one at that—a character as hard as Hamlet for them to fathom.

In the substance of the campaign so far, if it can be called that, the main effort of Ford and Dole has been to try to show Carter up as a flip-flopper on the issues. They think they have Carter on that, perhaps overestimating the political popularity of consistency. It could be that the effect of the Ford-Dole attacks on their opponent's alleged switches on the issues (notably on the question of agricultural embargoes, where they thought they had him) will be to advertise the largeness of his mind—consistency supposedly being "the hobgoblin" of small ones.

Of course it is Ford, choked up at the memories of his youth as a Ranger, who has produced the one big flip-flop of the campaign so far. Cued to the gush from Old Faithful, Ford announced a $1.5 billion program for increasing and improving the national parks system, forgetting for the moment his well-known freeze on such "spending" projects.

One clear political fact about this year's campaign is that the Presidential candidates will be doing more in support of state candidates than ever before. They will not be doing this piggybacking because of a sudden discovery of the virtues buried in the grass roots but because of campaign finance restrictions under the new law. They can get away with more expenditures and more exposure if they seem to be doing it all on behalf of good old Senator X or Governor Y. This is a relatively innocent evasion of the strict spending limits under the new law which, given the huge outlays planned for TV advertising, have limited the Carter budget for a populous state like New Jersey, for instance, to $100,000.

The campaign, of course, is still in its swaddling clothes. It didn't "officially" begin until Labor Day, that traditional occasion for flattering the leaders of Big Labor while overlooking the fact that a small proportion of American workers belong to labor unions. This year would be a good one for the candidates to turn their oratorical fire on the giant corporations, whose record of corruption and short-sighted production policies is shockingly there for all, including labor, to see. We doubt that either of the candidates will seize the opportunity, since both parties have so far been quite reluctant to take on the corporate world.

On the fringes of so-called serious politics, the Republicans are entitled to a sigh of relief amid their tears over the fact that the extreme Right has come up with a hopeless candidate in former Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia. If this ridiculous figure from the past is the best the American Independent Party can put forward, the Republicans need have no fears for their right flank. The nomination of Ax-Handle Maddox, symbol of the expired Wallace movement and the reverse of everything Carter stands for in the South, is just an advertisement for the fact that the Republicans have no way of going further Right than Ford took them in his contest with Reagan—short, that is, of the lunatic fringes.

On the other end of the Republican spectrum, that of the so-called moderates, we publish in this issue a revealing—and very depressed—analysis of the plight of the Republican Party by one of its best men, Sen. Charles Mathias. He emphasizes and deplores his party's swing to "the stale ideology of the Right" and the consequent neglect of the genuine issues both parties should be facing because the country must face them. It is a sad tale and one that spells opportunity for the Democrats as the national campaign begins.

Contracting for Foreign Policy

The United States Government might just as well turn over the management of its foreign policy to a private contractor. This would simply formalize the existing reality in much of the world and, as Ford and Kissinger term it, it would encourage "the American system of free private enterprise." The government could retain some function of "oversight," but the basic business of this nation's relations with the rest of the world would be in the hands of an independent contractor.

This modest proposal springs from recent events involving two giant defense firms and their effects on America's position abroad. One is Rockwell International, three of whose employees were assassinated in Iran recently in a violent protest against the Shah's government; the other is our old familiar Lockheed, whose machinations in pursuit of its arms business have seriously disrupted the governments of three of America's allies, Japan, Italy and Holland.

Take the case of Iran and Rockwell. That company is just one of a number of American defense contractors which are undertaking, with the blessing of Kissinger & Co., to arm the country of the dictator-Shah right up to his shining teeth. Just last month Kissinger, on a "good-will" tour abroad, told a press conference in Teheran that American arms sales to Iran, which have amounted to $10.4 billion since 1972, would continue at that rate at least through 1980. Oil, at the extortionate prices the Shah has done so much to encourage, will pay for the military extravaganza which will soon make Iran a greater military power than, say, Britain and, of course, a much less trustworthy one.

The American Ambassador to Iran, Richard Helms, whose Watergate taint when he headed the CIA caused him to be sent off to Teheran, reacted to the Rockwell

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men's deaths with proper indignation, saying that "this brutal and mindless crime serves no cause. . . ." He is probably wrong about that. One does not have to agree with the murderous tactics of the Islamic Marxist group, which the Shah blames for this act of violence, to say that even this kind of resistance to Iran's brutally repressive regime will serve a cause, whatever we think of it.

There are more than 8,000 military and civilian employees of the Pentagon working in Iran on the Shah's colossal armaments program. Thousands of other Americans are in Teheran in the employ of the defense contractors, which include Grumman Aircraft and Bell Helicopter, and the numbers are rapidly rising. A Congressional report recently revealed that tens of thousands of American technicians would be needed to man the Shah's shiny new war machine in case he actually went to war, which seems not unlikely in the light of his own vast ambitions and the instability of that part of the world. And behind all this hardware and bellicose policy stands the fatefully involved government of the United States, operating through private enterprises.

When it comes to Lockheed, the picture must be painted with broader strokes. That enormous defense conglomerate, entirely dependent for its existence on the U.S. Government and the world arms trade it encourages, is the very model of the modern swashbuckling international "defense" contractor, made in the USA. By all accounts, it was the inventor and chief employer of the modern techniques of bribing foreign governments. It did this so successfully that not only did it sell fleets of planes to governments around the world but, in the process, corrupted them so brazenly that, when its machinations inevitably became known, it became a prime factor in the politics of those allies. We have seen the spectacle of a former Japanese Prime Minister in jail, of an Italian election deeply affected by the supposed Lockheed-induced peculations of a former Prime Minister, and, most recently, of the ancient House of Orange shaken to its foundations by the bribing of the Dutch Queen's consort, Prince Bernhard.

The government of the United States is obviously unable to control its creature, Lockheed. There would be no Lockheed today if Congress, a couple of years ago, had not passed a bill guaranteeing a $250 million bank loan for this corrupt and inefficient giant. One of the few sensible approaches to the Lockheed problem was the recent action by Rep. Michael Harrington (D., Mass.) in introducing a bill to terminate that federal loan guarantee (he also pointed out that the Emergency Loan Guarantee Board, set up to monitor this bit of largesse, has apparently done nothing that could be called "oversight," except in the sense of neglect). Harrington's initiative will undoubtedly get nowhere in a Congress in thrall to the Pentagon and its contracting cabal.

It is clear that large areas of American policy in the world are in the hands of private corporations, most of them in the defense business. Why not go all the way, then, and put the whole ball of wax in their hands? The U.S. Government could make a contract with an International Arms and Policy Consortium, Inc. and simply leave things abroad to them, State Department then becoming IAPC's personnel and R&D branch. The government's protection would be that it could fail to renew, or at least could renegotiate, the contract (if the consortium had not by then taken over the Capitol as its public relations division).

In the likely event of a Left-coalition victory in the next French election, it would be much easier for Lockheed to handle that specter, as Kissinger views it, than for the organs of state to do so. Lockheed could simply bribe a few French Socialist deputies in a way that would arouse the nationalist spirit of France and thus insure a victory by the Right. There would be many advantages to this system of contracting out American foreign policy, at least in terms of how it is at present conceived and run. The only disadvantage would be the end of sovereignty and popular government.

Corking the Bottle

Nuclear energy, that genie in the bottle, has come back to haunt us recently in two forms. One is the likely conversion of so-called peaceful energy-producing reactors into mechanisms for making nuclear weapons. There now seems no doubt that existing arrangements to prevent the export of "peaceful" nuclear technology from being diverted into the production of weapons are hopelessly inadequate. Taiwan (with a population of a mere 7.6 million) is the latest country that seems to have developed the ability to turn power plants into nuclear arsenals.

As each new nation joins the rapidly growing list of the atomically capable, the Western world—source of all this capability—cluck-clucks about the need for new controls on the export of nuclear technology, and does precious little to make this mean anything. Given the fact of sovereignty, perhaps there is not much that can be done. Meanwhile, the nuclear export business mushrooms like the famous cloud.

And then there is the continuing risk presented by the nuclear energy installations in the United States. That risk was highlighted again the other day when a Plexiglas panel blew out at the Hanford Atomic Reservation in the state of Washington, spraying radioactive material on the eight workers who happened to be in that room. It is not clear how serious that accident may be for those involved, but it serves as a reminder of the continuing dangers inherent in the new technology. Harvey Wasserman writes in this issue on the citizens' protest against a nuclear facility licensed by the federal government for construction in the town of Seabrook, N.H. His story makes clear that the protest is more than an action by environmental freaks of the upper middle class and that it has roots in that small, embattled community.

The whole question of nuclear energy, of governmental controls to assure its safety, and of the people's right to have a say in the location and security of these risky installations is only now coming to a head. Referenda on this question, like the one in California this year, which lost but got one-third of the votes, are on the ballots in three states (Washington, Colorado and Oregon) and may be on three others (Montana, Ohio and Arizona) unless they are stopped in the courts. They all aim to halt the expansion of nuclear power plants unless and until the government and the utilities can prove that they

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have taken effective steps to minimize the risks. One can only wish the supporters of these efforts good luck—on behalf of all of us now on earth and yet to be born. It is a long-range problem, if ever there was one.

Forever Shuttling

What does Henry Kissinger think he can possibly accomplish now in southern Africa? He has warmed up his well-known shuttle and seems set to go rocketing around that troubled area in the interests of . . . peace, one must suppose.

The Secretary of State was blocked from any initiative he might have undertaken in Africa during his party's nominating season—the Reaganites wanted no concessions to the blacks that might harm the interests of the white minorities of Rhodesia and South Africa. Now the tables are turned and he and Ford have every reason to attempt a diplomatic coup that would help the Republicans in the election. One must recall, with distaste, Kissinger's "peace is at hand" (in Vietnam) statement just before the 1972 election, which turned out to be a lie, underlined by the infamous Christmas bombing.

On his only trip to Africa as Secretary of State, Kissinger tried in April to win black Africa's support for a brand new American policy for southern Africa. It was to replace the "tilt" toward the white regimes which had been the Nixon-Ford policy until then. Kissinger counted heavily on South African pressure on Rhodesia to force the Ian Smith regime to make large concessions to the huge black majority before the guerrilla war went from bad to worse. Now South Africa is having bad race problems of its own. Prime Minister Vorster is in an odd, if not impossible, position to be putting pressure on Rhodesia to change its racist policies.

Nevertheless, Kissinger is charging ahead, apparently not heeding the fact that the patience of the leaders of Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique has frazzled since his visit to that part of the world last spring. There are many reasons for them, and for us, to be suspicious of this new Kissinger shuttle during an American election campaign. The Secretary of State might better help the President by staying home in his waning months in office and trying some quiet diplomacy for a change.

RETURNING TO RELEVANCE

CAN THE G.O.P. MAKE IT?

SEN. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS Jr.

The course of events at the Republican National Convention was brought about over many months by the irrepressible presence in our party of Ronald Reagan, and may turn out to be the Grand Old Party's last hurrah. Mr. Reagan's influence began to percolate long before he launched his vigorous, rightward-heeling campaign and rediscovered his skill as a television orator. With Reagan bearing down on him even before the primary season was underway, President Ford decided to contest Reagan on Reagan's ground. It was a strategic decision, as far as I can tell. With it, the President may have sent political history scurrying on a new tangent.

The two candidates fought it out in the primaries and caucuses for the allegiance of the right wing of a minority party. Only 18 per cent of all registered voters are Republicans. Not all of them voted in the primaries. Not all of them were represented in the caucus-chosen delegations. Not all of them are conservatives. Those who are not could only abstain or come along, as they wished, while Reagan led the charge and struck the theme music of the long campaign, playing brilliantly to the aspirations and pronounced dislikes of American conservatism. As it went along, a movement was created: larger than Reagan himself, though not very. In the end, the President could edge out his challenger in the tactical skirmishing for delegates, but he could not staunch that movement, which had taken hold among the delegations, particularly of the West and Deep South, and been acquiesced in by men of power in the Republican hierarchy.

We now have our candidates, our platform, and the lingering flavor of the convention, and we are no longer fighting tactical battles for handfuls of coy delegates. We are going out into the country now to address the people —all of the people—in one of the most demanding and crucial times in our history. I am not persuaded, to put it mildly, that a great many of the people are going to buy what was dished out in Kansas City.

A few days before the convention opened, I had occasion to drive north from Washington, traveling the highways that run up through the bottle-green farm country of Maryland. On the car radio, sandwiched between pre-convention news—GOP platform committee opposes national health insurance; opposes jobs guarantee bill—was an evangelist sermon, the warning voice of a country prophet in the midst of a litany of doomful possibilities not only for the morality of the church but for the free-enterprise system as well. That economics should intrude on evangelism over the airwaves in the fertile country along the Mason-Dixon line is suggestive, I think, of an unease in this country, a premonition of great impending change.

Last spring John Hart of NBC interviewed employees at the Raytheon laboratories in Waltham, Mass. about their expectations and hopes for the country. The answers he got were heavy with apprehension and even despair, and yet these were working people, with homes and families and reasonably certain futures. "These people feel the country made a turn which the politicians missed," Mr. Hart reported. "The country changed on them."

Charles Mathias is senior Senator from Maryland, and a Republican.

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The present age is bringing new demands which have just begun to enunciate themselves. Americans have seen the portents, and sensed, if not grasped, their full implications. The gasoline shortage was the most startling. The recession was another. The cost of medical care has climbed beyond reason. Inflation persists. Beyond lie less immediate but still troubling signs of a world in dramatic change. We witness, or read, of oil spills that turn miles of pristine beach into tarry wastelands. We read of Communists coming to power in Italy. And from Africa come shrill headlines and photographs of young blacks battling white policemen.

And if there is vague unease across this country, there is also keen despair. Some 8 million Americans are unemployed. Thousands of our elderly are poorly housed and indecently fed. Our cities are in decay and drifting toward bankruptcy.

The Republican convention was an ideological affair, a revival meeting that must have puzzled a good many of the Americans who watched it. In a year of massive unemployment, the near collapse of New York City, simmering racial tensions, political flux in Europe and fratricidal war in the Arab world, the Republicans in Kansas City celebrated the stale ideology of the Right. We did not debate the hard issues, either on the floor or in private. To an apprehensive country we offered pat assurances and exhortations to look on the bright side.

The convention summoned up repeated salutes to our free-enterprise system, sentiments I share with my fellow Republicans but which need, in 1976, to be updated. Our economy is probably the soundest in the world, but the diminution of available energy, which has just begun and will continue inexorably, has monumental implications that every businessman and every Republican must face. Today we are consuming energy in unconscionably extravagant quantities. We import more than 40 per cent of our oil, the lifeblood of our economy. According to the Federal Energy Administration, a one-year Arab oil embargo in 1977 would reduce our Gross National Product by between $78 billion and $112 billion, and put more than 2 million people out of work. Our own oil reserves are immense, but finite. Inevitably, with or without another embargo, we will arrive at the point where there will no longer be the energy to use as we are accustomed. If we come to that day as innocent and unprepared as we came to the Arab oil embargo, our cherished free-enterprise system will have stumbled into the most crippling disaster in our history.

In our pledges to the free-enterprise system, we conceded little at our convention to those who have been unable to catch hold of the American dream. When the convention opened, unemployment in America stood at 7.8 per cent and had been on the rise since May. Much of it was random, which is bad enough; some of it was discriminatory, which is worse. Unemployment among nonwhite Americans is 12.9 per cent, as against 7.1 for whites. Officially, unemployment among black teenagers is 40.3 per cent, as against 16.1 for whites the same age; Vernon Jordan of the Urban League thinks the figure for young blacks is closer to 60 per cent.

The Republican platform contains a plank opposing the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs guarantee bill because it would "cost billions and can only be financed either through very large tax increases or through ever-increasing levels of deficit spending." I have my own reservations about Humphrey-Hawkins, but to dismiss it as too expensive is an insufficient answer to unemployment in the millions. No one wants deficit spending, but a civilized government, a humane government, can never relax its efforts until all of its people, young and old, can find work at a decent wage.

In no other area did Reagan push Republican policy around as easily and banefully as in foreign policy. His oratory on the Panama Canal gave flair to his campaign, stirring the imagination of voters who resented the manner of our leaving Vietnam, but it did nothing to improve our tenuous sovereignty over the Canal. I'm sorry President Ford didn't object more forcefully to Reagan's pronouncements on the Canal, with its myriad implications for our relations with Latin America and all Third World countries. Reagan's historical analysis was misinformed, and his truculent approach to an international situation of some delicacy was naive. But his belligerence was infectious, and the Canal came to be a symbol in his campaign for an uncompromising foreign policy.

President Ford retreated from all this ardent criticism, even to the extent of excising the word "détente" from his diplomatic vocabulary. The so-called "morality plank," hammered into the party platform on the convention floor, was an undisguised rebuke to Secretary of State Kissinger; the President and his people, for tactical reasons, swallowed it with hardly a murmur. (The plank was more ignorant than moral: it was written as though the Helsinki agreement were a bilateral affair between us and the Soviet Union, when actually it was signed by thirty-five nations, including the Vatican, which has never been accused of indulging communism.)

We must return to détente. It is a Republican policy, constructed by a Republican Secretary of State in Republican administrations. To jettison it would be to disown an historic achievement, a much acclaimed achievement. There was a heady concentration of hard-line patriotism among the convention delegates, but as Republicans get out around the country this fall, I suspect we will find that the concerns of the American people run to matters other than international showdowns.

A pragmatic, unprejudiced American foreign policy, moral but undogmatic, becomes more and more urgent as the world swings into its current political evolution. Consider Africa. The guerrilla war in Rhodesia and the uprisings in South Africa are of a piece with the coming of age of black Africa on the international stage. As our misadventure in Angola suggested—so little to gain, so little lost, after all—black Africa is no longer a battleground of ideologies but a complex and varied group of nations interested not in communism but in self-determination and economic justice. The terms of the cold war have become obsolete on that continent.

In Europe, there is political transition as profound, in a quieter way, as the transformation of black Africa. Eco-

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nomic catastrophe and the persistent mediocrity of the Christian Democratic Party have drawn the Italian Communists into the ruling circle. The vocal and disciplined Communists are an established faction in France. In Portugal, groups even to the left of the Communists are a strident part of the scene. On the other hand, the Soviet Union's long-standing ambition to be overlord of a solidified European Communist community was knocked apart forever at the historic gathering of Communist parties in East Berlin in June. What was intended to be a triumph of unity under the aegis of the Kremlin turned out instead to be an unabashed demonstration of diversity, independence and nationalism. Whether we can trust Communists who proclaim their independence from Moscow is beside

Don Hesse, St. Louis Globe-Democrat

the point. The point is change itself: a great redrawing of political configurations, portents of a new age in Europe. America has every reason to go to meet that age with optimism, but we must go uninhibited by old dogmas.

Early in August I appeared on a panel at the annual conference of the Urban League in Boston. In answer to a newsman's question I expressed my hope that we might return sometime to the "great tradition of the Republican Party." The phrase elicited hisses and snickers from an otherwise friendly audience. The Grand Old Party has come a long way in 120 years: the party created expressly to obliterate the institution of slavery is today viewed with derision by members of the Urban League, a progressive but far from radical organization.

And yet there is a tradition in the Republican Party that we might still call "great." Charles Sumner, the Massachusetts abolitionist, said, as he left the Whigs to help form the Republican Party, that he wished to belong to the "party of humanity." Compassion and progressivism run deep in our party's history. At the turn of the century, Thomas B. Reed of Maine, a learned giant of a man and one of the great Speakers of the House, fought racism in America and imperialism in the Philippines with an inflexible courage. Teddy Roosevelt outlawed sweatshops, busted monopolies, fought for conservation, and spoke with passion all his life for the common man. Fiorello La Guardia, the warm-hearted Mayor of New York, was a Republican. So was William Allen White, the crusading Kansas newspaperman, and Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, progressive and pacifist. Earl Warren was a Republican. In 1954, Dwight D. Eisenhower sent federal soldiers to Little Rock, Ark. to police the integration of the school system, segregated under a Democratic Governor.

Today, the inheritors and trustees of the progressive tradition comprise a strong and cohesive faction in the United States Senate. Our votes are crucial in Senate conflicts. Our constituency is tremendous. We speak for mammoth blocs of electoral votes in such populous states as New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Maryland. But in spite of our strength in the Senate, and in spite of the millions of people and dozens of electoral votes we represent, the progressive Republicans abstained from the primaries. The Ford-Reagan duel seemed to preclude any progressive candidacy, which would have served Reagan by siphoning votes from Ford. It was a bind from which we never escaped. The progressives were ignored in the caucuses. They were ignored in the writing of the party platform. They were ignored in the convention oratory.

I doubt that the party can continue to dismiss its progressives and survive. Mr. Reagan, who contributed so much to our exclusion, seemed to have arrived at a late-hour recognition of progressive strength when he inducted Senator Schweiker into his campaign. Partisans of both Reagan and Schweiker were indignant, but from Reagan's point of view the invitation was logical, if late. The Republicans cannot win in November without offering something more than the ideology of the far Right. Reagan's trouble, of course, was that the Schweiker choice was a stratagem, as Reagan's own staff were quick to assure their startled friends on the Right, a mirror game played at a desperate moment. It takes more than two names and a hyphen to widen a political base.

The ploy couldn't save Reagan but it provided a measure of wry comfort to progressive Republicans. Here was the lion of conservatism conceding that progressive Republicans do matter. By implication, whether he meant it or not, he was also floating the proposition that an emotional reversion to archconservatism will not see this nation through the difficult years ahead.

President Ford might have said as much himself, in plain language, many months ago. I believe he contemplated saying it. I believe that in spite of his natural conservatism, the President was primed for the challenges of a swiftly changing world, but by the time the campaign was underway, it was too late. By then, the President was

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up against the narrow but potent tide let loose by Ronald Reagan. The President chose, finally, to ride that tide himself, all the way to the nomination. It has delivered him there, and has delighted a great many Republicans.

But there are others in our party who are not as pleased, and an electorate waiting across America, hungry for jobs, for public schools they can be happy to send their children to, for medical care they can afford, for habitable cities, and above all for the self-confidence and sense of well-being that are inspired by wise and compassionate leaders. Minus Reagan, who built it, the conservative tide now proceeds beyond the genial confines of Kemper Arena in Kansas City. In the process, the Grand Old Party is likely to rediscover what it once knew well: here is a big country, with many regions, many climates, many faces, many hopes. The problem is to persuade the majority. □

THE NEW GERMAN REPRESSION

MARTIN OPPENHEIMER

According to West German Government figures, 450,000 civil service applicants were screened for "loyalty" between January 1973 and mid-1975, at a cost of more than $4 million a year. In that period a minimum of 235 applicants were rejected, but civil liberties groups believe the true number is closer to five times that amount. The screening program has continued at that rate or higher ever since; in addition, an unknown number of persons already employed in the civil service have been terminated, had promotions denied, or have suffered other forms of disciplinary action. In West Berlin alone there have been more than fifty documented cases of firings or nonhirings from late 1975 through early 1976.

This phenomenon is becoming known as *Berufsverbot*, or job ban, a term destined for the same fame as other German linguistic innovations, such as *Blitzkrieg*. The practice, though not the word, is written into the civil service regulations of the separate German states (they vary in the extent of procedural safeguards, hearings, rights to attorneys, etc.), and is supported by a high court decision of May 1975. Authority for this practice is rooted in the German constitution, which denies the rights of that constitution (roughly similar to our Bill of Rights) to those who would "misuse them to undermine the free and democratic foundations of the society."

This leaves room for interpretation as to just who such persons are, but the practice is applied to members of a wide array of left-wing splinter parties including all Maoists and Trotskyists, the Moscow-oriented DKP and its Berlin wing, the SEW, all their respective auxiliary and front groups, and a series of borderline groups which happen on occasion to agree with them. While all of these groups are technically legal, affiliation with them is considered to create doubt as to a civil servant's ability to "guarantee that he or she will stand up actively for the free and democratic foundations of the society." Such doubt, usually raised by dossiers produced by the *Verfassungsschutz* (literally, security service for the protection of the constitution) upon request of a government agency, is sufficient for denial of job application, or the institution of disciplinary proceedings which can lead to dismissal of even the sacred and tenured German *Beamten* (officials).

Actually, the main victims of *Berufsverbot* are applicants for lower-level civil service jobs including internships and teachers (the majority of victims), social workers, health-care workers (including doctors, interns, and nurses), government attorneys, and an occasional police officer. One locomotive engineer has become famous because, as a member of the Communist Party, he was denied tenured status. University employees, from teaching and lab assistants to tenured professors, have also been affected; the attack on a handful of the latter is considered a new and dangerous extension of *Berufsverbot* practices into an area which has been virtually holy since the end of World War II.

None of the jobs, with the exception of a few police officers, affect military security, and no one is ever charged with endangering national security in that way. Moreover, association with organizations considered by the authorities to be "enemies of the constitution" (the term in the Hitler period was "enemies of the state") is charged in only a minority of cases, unless the concept of association is extended to merely attending meetings or signing election petitions. Most *Berufsverbot* victims are "guilty" of such things as: belonging to an artists' group which protested conditions in Chile; belonging to a student organization protesting the visit of the Shah of Iran; doing art work for a Trotskyist magazine; protesting the reprimand of a public school student; activity in the "German-Chinese Friendship Society"; signing a newspaper ad protesting the *Berufsverbot* against others; referring to the treatment of prisoners in court as "torture"; harboring a released prisoner accused of aiding the Baader-Meinhof gang; working with a committee protesting political firings; signing a petition using the term "thought-snooping"; distributing copies of Mao's Red Book; living with persons considered "anarchists" or new leftists; participating in an anti-Vietnam demonstration; being married to a member of a Maoist front group; calling Germany a satellite of imperialism; calling a police killing "murder."

Civil servants charged with such matters are often called in for an informal hearing, at which time, if they apologize for their error, reassure their employers that it was a one-time slip-up, or that they clearly did not know what they were doing, the matter is often dropped. Thus one teacher was told after the hearing that she would probably retain her job, "If you were in political

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science, it would be all over. But since you're an artist. . . ." Another teacher, accused of being among the signers of a letter to the editor which appeared only in a Maoist newspaper (though it had been sent to all local papers) signed an apology.

Berufsverbot practices directly affect some 3.5 million civil servants, more than 15% of the employed labor force in West Germany. That figure includes all railway and postal employees, and all tenured *Beamten,* who constitute 27.6% of the federal, 58.8% of state, and 21.2% of local government employees. Also indirectly affected is private industry, which increasingly has adopted what are termed "cold *Berufsverbot*" (under-the-table, unofficial) practices; and perhaps even more seriously the entire school and university population, where the "chilling effect" has had its greatest impact. Thus, in a period of increasing job shortage in the civil service, students have become more and more reluctant to speak out in class, write on controversial topics, or even run for student government office, since such activities have a way of ending up in the dossiers of various police agencies, and, therefore, in the hands of potential employers. In North Rhineland-Westphalia, a state ruled by a coalition dominated by Social Democrats, for example, the potential employer (the government agency) is required to ask the Minister of the Interior whether any information exists that would raise questions as to the employability of an applicant. If these questions are based on "loyalty" considerations, there must be a hearing, and the applicant cannot be hired until all such questions are cleared up.

Christian Democrat-ruled states differ from Social Democrat states mainly in that they bother less with procedural safeguards such as hearings. The federal and state Ministers of the Interior as well as other authorities are supported in their search for subversives by the *Verfassungsschutz,* similar offices at the state level, the Military Security Service, and the Bund Intelligence Service, plus the usual criminal police agencies. In 1950, the Federal Security Office had ninety employees with a budget of $1.75 million; in 1975, it had 1,600 employees in eight sections, and a budget of more than $30 million. In addition, there is the Federal Border Guard, which is in effect a national-level tactical police force, used in support of local police authorities in any political fracas.

According to the Minister of the Interior in Bonn, this vast federal, state, local, criminal and army apparatus confronts 72,000 members of the German Communist Party (DKP) and 21,200 assorted other new leftists in 174 other organizations; plus some 2,000 to 3,000 active ultra-rightists (that is, independent of those in the "Center" parties). In addition there are the "anarchists," a term erroneously but generally used to denote terrorists. (The 1970 population of West Germany including West Berlin was approximately 61.5 million.)

The ostensible reason for the creation of this apparatus for the discovery and exclusion of subversive elements (almost entirely limited to left-wing activity despite occasional token gestures against ultra-rightists) was initially a fear of the resurgence of Nazism; indeed the first party banned in West Germany was the Socialist Reich Party, a neo-Nazi group, in 1952. The only other party banned was the old Communist Party of Germany (KPD) which promptly reappeared as the (presently legal) German Communist Party (DKP). The present KPD is a Maoist group, and is also legal.

As time passed, however, it became clear that the real purpose had shifted to the fear of communism outside and terrorism within. The unstated assumption, inherited from the Hitler days, was and is that of "preventive political hygiene": if you can frighten people away from doing minor things like writing letters to the editor, then they won't do more dangerous things, like blowing up U.S. installations. In fact the opposite has taken place: as legitimate political dissent has become more difficult, the soil has become more fertile for terrorism, because a few people will inevitably believe that to be the only strategy remaining. Thus, with the sole exception of Great Britain and its Irish "problem," West Germany is the only country in the Western European bloc in which terrorism persists, in an atmosphere of support in the population. More than 3,500 people attended the funeral of Ulrike Meinhof in Berlin last May 16, while many, afraid of police photographers, hid their faces behind kerchiefs.

It would be an error to view the *Berufsverbot* situation in isolation from other anti-civil libertarian practices in West Germany. Two in particular should be mentioned inasmuch as they overlap with the *Berufsverbot*: (*a*) a series of paragraphs of the criminal code which very seriously infringe upon freedom of the press, and which have already led to police raids on publishing houses and bookstores, and to fines and prison sentences for writers, publishers and editors; and (*b*) prison conditions (mainly extended solitary confinement for political prisoners) and legal conditions (particularly infringement of traditional rights of legal counselors up to and including imprisonment), which serve further to chill the political climate.

The West German state, with the full cooperation of a party which has itself been the victim of *Berufsverbot* practices (from Bismarck to Hitler), has created an atmosphere of political repression which continues to lead on the one hand to terrorism, and on the other, for the vast majority, to an attitude of political apathy and cynicism. Small wonder that many intellectuals, especially those familiar with the German history that led to Hitler, view the future with gloom. □

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SHOWDOWN AT SEABROOK

NUCLEAR WAR BY THE SEA

HARVEY WASSERMAN

Seabrook, N.H.

Opposition to nuclear energy may be entering the same kind of intensive phase as the anti-Vietnam War movement of the late 1960s. Along this small stretch of the Atlantic coast a broad-based coalition of New England groups has committed itself to block, physically, the construction of a power plant here. It is a grass-roots movement, the first of its kind in the country, and its organizers hope it will be "the shot heard 'round the world" for the anti-nuclear movement.

Seabrook, N.H. is no college town or bastion of the middle class. It is a tight-knit community of 5,700, proud of its insular New England heritage, proud also of its lovely beaches and long, breathtaking marshes that host thousands of magnificent sea birds and a universe of marine life.

Seven years ago the Public Service Co. (PSC), which supplies New Hampshire with 90 per cent of its electricity, announced its intention to build twin atomic reactors in the midst of those marshes. The plan was so little publicized that one Seabrook resident, Tony Santasucci, didn't even know the company wanted his land until he sprained his ankle in one of their drill holes. He still walks with a limp, and with most of his neighbors he vows to fight to the bitter end. "I've been around 62 years," he says, "and I'm too old to move. We don't need that plant and if you ask me, Public Service is a bunch of liars. They'll never kick me out of here. They'll have to drag me out first."

Most of Seabrook shares the sentiment. Despite extravagant promises of tax benefits, jobs and business, the town voted against the plant last March by a margin of 768 to 632. By June the town opposition had joined with environmental groups from around New England to form the Clamshell Alliance, an umbrella coalition of fifteen separate anti-nuclear organizations. The goal of the Alliance is nothing less than to do whatever is necessary within a nonviolent framework to occupy the plant site, halt construction and force the PSC to cancel the project.

They face formidable opposition. New Hampshire is the domain of William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester *Union-Leader*, and his sidekick Meldrim Thomson, the Governor. They make as reactionary a ruling pair as any state can point to, and they are both ardent nuclear promoters.

The Loeb-Thomson team was stung deeply by the defeat of Aristotle Onassis's multimillion-dollar oil refinery at the hands of the citizens of Durham, and more recently by the town of Walpole's rejection of a major pulp mill.

During the Onassis and Walpole debates, Loeb and Thomson were trapped by their own archconservative "home rule" rhetoric. But the nuclear plant is too big a deal to permit mere ideology to interfere. Blaming the plant's defeat on "outsiders," Thomson encouraged Public Service to ignore Seabrook's referendum, a request with which the PSC gladly complied. Thomson then backed it up with an order to state employees that they either keep their mouths shut about negative feelings toward the project, or else lose their jobs. If a state employee felt compelled to question the plan, he said, then that employee should "resign his state job and go out and oppose it."

The Governor was soon forced to rescind the order, especially in light of the fact that his own Attorney General, David H. Souter, joined the Attorney General of Massachusetts in filing an exception against the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission's (NRC) grant to the PSC of a construction permit. Among other things, the two Attorneys General claimed that the final Environmental Protection Agency impact studies had not yet been completed.

Until its moratorium on licensing early this month, the NRC had never denied a nuclear construction permit. But Ernest Salo, one of the three members of the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board, cast a rare minority vote against the Seabrook permit, claiming that the plant would have a destructive impact on commercial and recreational fishing in the area.

His concern is widely shared. A key feature of the PSC plan is a pair of water pipes fully 19 feet in diameter each, designed to suck in and spew out ocean water for reactor cooling at the rate of more than 800,000 gallons per minute. Thus more than a billion gallons a day would be returned to the sea fully 40 degrees hotter than normal.

Strong questions are also being raised about the economics of the plan. The PSC's generating capacity is already 1,343 megawatts, more than twice its average hourly sales for the past two years, and more than 40 per cent higher than the state's peak electrical demand. As originally planned, PSC half-ownership in twin 1,150-megawatt reactors would nearly double the company's capacity.

But, as with many other utilities, the PSC's sales growth has dropped drastically—rising only .1 per cent in 1974 and actually dropping .5 per cent in 1975. Such figures have thrown the PSC's real need for the additional capacity into very serious question. In fact, the general downswing in electrical demand growth that has forced cancellation of nuclear plants across the United States has already pushed the company into a tenuous financial position at Seabrook. Last December, President Lelan Sillin of Northeast Utilities cited a drop in sales and pulled his company out of its 12 per cent commitment to the Seabrook reactors. Two other utilities followed suit, leaving the PSC with a 70 per cent interest rather than the 50 per cent originally scheduled, and raising doubts

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as to whether the company really has the assets to finance the project.

Cost estimates aren't proceeding exactly on course either. Four years ago the PSC said the plant would cost $973 million. Today it puts the figure at $1.6 billion, but few outside the company believe it. David Lessels, finance director of the state Public Utilities Commission, recently published a 30-page report putting the real cost in the vicinity of $2.53 billion and going up. The current $900 million underestimate, he said, could eventually cost the PSC's 250,000 customers a startling $3,600 each.

Such figures are common to nuclear construction across America. What is uncommon about Seabrook is the nature of the resistance. "This movement is built from the bottom up," says Anna Gyorgy, a Clamshell volunteer from Montague, Mass., where Northeast Utilities is planning twin reactors. "Here the movement starts with the town. There is no other way." With a solid local base the Alliance is trying to turn Seabrook into a genuine regional face-off. Indeed, winning the confrontation is crucial to the nuclear industry for precisely that reason. With the costs of nuclear construction soaring, and with resistance to it growing in the country, it would seem that New England is the most promising area left for nuclear economics. It is devoid of coal and oil deposits, relatively low on hydroelectric power, and its long winters and heavy urbanization make it, according to economists, the area in America where nuclear power is surest to be fiancially desirable. There are now seven nuclear plants on line in the six New England states, with four more at various stages of construction and at least four more on the drawing boards.

But there are also strong anti-nuclear movements throughout the region, and they are beginning to coalesce at Seabrook. Many feel that if a major project can be defeated on the turf of New England's most reactionary state government, the impact on nukes in New England could well be fatal, particularly if the conflict is well organized, well publicized and drawn out, all of which Seabrook promises to be. To make sure that the point is not lost, a series of "teach-ins" is being organized throughout the region.

There follows a basic question—will there be enough political push, enough organization and enough physical bodies to prevent nuclear construction? And with a five-year lead time before the plant is scheduled to open, how much time between will be required to stop it in its tracks?

The Seabrook group has adopted Gandhian nonviolent tactics. The first skirmish was a one-man show staged by Ron Rieck, 22, an apple picker from Weare, N.H. On a bitter cold January 4, Rieck scaled a 175-foot PSC weather tower at the site. Armed with warm clothing, a little food and two sheets of plywood, Rieck camped on the tower for thirty-six hours before the cold forced him down. Upon reaching earth he found Seabrook Police Chief Louis Promise waiting for him with a thermos of hot tea. PSC balked at charging Rieck with trespass, and he was later acquitted of one count of "creating a public disturbance." Rieck's mini-occupation was followed on April 10 by a rally of 300 people at the site, which was soon thereafter bulldozed and closed to the public.

On August 1, 600 nuclear opponents arrived representing every state in New England. Gathering in the marshes, the rally of speeches, food and song served as a send-off for eighteen Clamshell activists, all of them New Hampshire residents, who set off for the plant site. Carrying a score of pine and maple saplings, and accompanied by some forty journalists, they confronted the PSC with their wish to beautify the area. PSC officials offered a compromise plot of ground. The Clamshellers refused and started gardening where the PSC wants to plant reactors.

Police then informed both the demonstrators and the media that they were all under arrest. The order was quickly reversed for the news teams, but the Clamshellers sat down next to their saplings and allowed themselves to be dragged through 200 yards of mud and underbrush to waiting police vans. At the Hampton Falls police station (Seabrook's is too small for such a crowd) the eighteen were booked on charges of criminal trespass, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest (later, they were all convicted on one charge or the other).

Four days later the PSC and Governor Thomson arrived in full force for the official ground-breaking ceremonies. The date was set for August 5 so the news would break in the papers August 6, Hiroshima Day, apparently the PSC's idea of a joke.

The game was spoiled, however, by a dozen Seabrook residents, many of them elderly, who sat in chairs in the middle of the road through which the official procession was to travel to the site. They were removed roughly, but not arrested, despite Meldrim Thomson's vindictive oratory.

The actual ground-breaking ceremony (accomplished with silver-plated shovels) was free from disruption. But the extremely tense atmosphere was hardly relaxed by a long day's program of guerrilla theatre, scattered vehicle blockages and three arrests, including that of Guy Chichester, 41, a local carpenter and chief Clamshell spokesman. Also arrested was Gretchen Siegler, 24, who managed to infiltrate the official luncheon at the posh Exeter Inn in order to disrupt Thomson's speech.

Coincidentally, Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter had arrived in nearby Manchester to celebrate the New Hampshire primary victory which launched his successful campaign for the nomination. Cornered by Green Mountain Post Films, an independent film crew, Carter's reply to questions on civil disobedience and nuclear power made national news.

"I've always felt," Carter said, "that anybody who disagrees with the civil law in a matter of conscience has a right openly to express that disobedience. At the same time, under our societal structure it's necessary that they be willing to take the consequences of their disobedience.

"I believe that there's a place for nuclear power in the future. It ought to be minimized, it ought to be a last resort; [there] ought to be tough safety precautions guaranteed by the President and other leaders in Washington, with nuclear power plants located where people don't live, where the environment will not be destroyed, with the reactor core beneath ground level, where the reactor building is tightly sealed and they have a standardization of design, to make sure the people can have confidence in the safety of nuclear power plants. . . ."

On August 13 the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commis-

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sion announced a temporary moratorium on issuing new licenses. The decision resulted from a court ruling forced in part by the New England Coalition on Nuclear Pollution, which was taking legal action against the reactor at Vernon, Vt. The moratorium does not affect the Seabrook project, which already has its license, and the NRC move was greeted here with a good deal of skepticism. "They'll hold their standard few days of hearings," says Clamshell spokesman Chichester, "and then it's back to business as usual. It's nothing to be excited about."

In any case, the Seabrook opposition is waiting for neither Jimmy Carter nor the NRC. On August 22 some 1,500 people went to a rally at the site and 180 of them were arrested and held overnight in the Portsmouth armory. Most of them were charged with criminal trespass and released on personal recognizance, but ten were charged with contempt of a Superior Court injunction against the "occupation," and bail was set at $5,000 for each.

The effort and the protest are sure to continue. □

CHALLENGING THE ARAB BOYCOTT

BARRY RUBIN

To the podium stepped Gen. George Olmsted, a retired high-ranking Army officer and now board chairman and president of the private International Bank of Washington. It was one of those conferences on Arab-American economic relations where businessmen pay several hundred dollars to rub shoulders with Arab government representatives and to hear speakers on Middle East commercial opportunities.

Olmsted's topic was "Multinational Corporations and Arab-American Economic Relations" and he wasted no time getting to one of the core issues of that relationship. "It's time we dealt with the Palestinians!" the retired General enthusiastically exclaimed. The audience burst into applause.

The response was hardly based upon long reflection about U.S. foreign policy and the Middle East situation; the executives clapped like embarrassed high school students herded into a pep rally. The message was understood: there are political costs of doing business in the Middle East.

Fortune magazine reached this conclusion last year in an article on the Arab boycott of Israel. Companies "with engagements or prospects in the Middle East are being forced to evaluate a range of hard questions about war, ethics and morality—questions that businessmen would always prefer to avoid." The Arab boycott is also forcing difficult, sensitive decisions on the government which the Ford administration would prefer to avoid.

There has been a persistent attempt by a number of government agencies to play down and misinterpret the extent of the boycott. After a decade of debate over insuring equality of rights for all Americans—and among American businesses—and in the midst of questioning over whether the United States has lost its "nerve" in the foreign policy area, an inquiry into Washington's handling of the boycott is appropriate.

Exhibit A might be the Moss Senate subcommittee report. After a sharp conflict with the Commerce Department, some 30,000 corporate boycott reports were obtained. During the last three months of 1975, 91 per cent of the companies involved supplied information demanded by Arab customers demonstrating compliance with boycott regulations. Only 2 per cent refused.

This provided the latest proof that, as David Cohen, an aide to Rep. James Scheuer (D., N.Y.) said, "As you improve the data, the scope of the boycott increases as well." Scheuer himself charged that Commerce officials "told us less than half—perhaps 46 per cent of the companies—were complying. And they told us it was like sales of $10 million to $20 million conducted by firms acquiescing, when actually it's a rock-bottom minimum of $741 million and probably between $1 billion and $2 billion." The assumption is that companies supplying information in trying to arrange business deals with the Arabs are also following the boycott regulations.

The Arab boycott against Israel originated in 1948, but did not become significant for the West until the quadrupling of oil prices, after 1973, made several Arab petroleum-producing states into important customers. The aim of the boycott is to weaken Israel economically by forcing companies to choose between doing business with Israel or with the Arabs. A "blacklist" of companies is maintained in the Damascus boycott office with different countries maintaining local versions. To supplement these records, data are requested from all businesses about the origin of products and components sold to the Arab world and the ships used in transporting them. Assurance is demanded that a company is not doing business in Israel through subsidiaries. Further, the corporation is forbidden to do business with any boycotted firm or insurance company.

So far, the direct impact of all this on Israel is difficult to measure. Israeli representatives stress their fear of the boycott's potential. If companies decide to avoid investing in Israel, refuse to buy Israeli goods, and determine not to promote sales of their own products to Israel, these choices will never appear on any balance sheet. Even those generally circumventing the boycott understand their limits: Chase Manhattan refuses to open a branch in Israel and services letters of credit which include demands for boycott certification. In addition to its demeaning effect on governments and businesses, there

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is also the question of whether adherence to the boycott encourages ethnic discrimination.

The Commerce Department has generally found few cases of such bias, and Arab spokesmen have regularly denied any such intent. However, in a 1975 interview, boycott coordinator Mohamed Mahgoub warned, "If principal officers are members of the board of a company or have a majority of its shares and are at the same time prominent in Zionist activities, the company no doubt will be affected. . . . The boycott includes companies when it is proved by definite evidence that they, their proprietors or controllers have Zionist inclinations."

Determining the criteria used in such judgments is made more difficult by the confused and contradictory administration of the program. Such companies as IBM, Boeing, Ford, Chase Manhattan Bank and General Electric, able to supply needed products or services, have dealt with both Israel and the Arabs without harassment. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) has accused General Tire & Rubber Co. of paying a $150,000 "commission" to be removed from the list. Several countries, notably Egypt, would probably like to dispense with the system altogether.

The mechanism could not function at all if it were not for collaboration by American institutions. Banks process letters of credit requiring boycott-compliance documents; companies observe the boycott and fill out information forms; Arab-American Chambers of Commerce—whose members include top officers of many major U.S. companies—validate the documents.

Indeed some companies, although relatively few so far, have exceeded even Arab demands in their eagerness to avoid any contaminating contact with Israel. Israeli sources and American business writers have named Texas Instruments, Ashland Chemical, Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, National Cash Register and Pacific Pump as being in this category. In the case of several architectural and transport firms, outright discrimination against Jewish employees or applicants has occurred.

The Anti-Defamation League has charged a number of large banks with regularly servicing letters of credit containing boycott clauses. The list includes First National City Bank, Chemical Bank, Bankers Trust, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and the Bank of America. In theory, any company not on the boycott list which is doing business in the Arab world is cooperating with the boycott, if only by furnishing information. Given necessity or poor organization, however, some exceptions—noted above—have been made.

The stakes are certainly quite high. From 1973 to 1975, U.S. exports to Arab countries tripled, reaching $5.3 billion, and continued growth is expected. Government concern is due not only to the overall trade volume but also to our continued trade deficit in these exchanges. The United States has no short-term alternative to purchasing Arab oil and the selling of technology, foodstuffs, industrial products and weapons is being encouraged to close the gap. While the United States leads in skill and efficiency in these areas, there is no American monopoly —the Arabs can buy elsewhere. The United States has no such clear-cut option for our petroleum needs.

Political concerns are also important. Henry Kissinger has sought to strengthen ties with the Arab world, to weaken Soviet influence and to play peacemaker in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Anything, such as a move against the boycott, which would weaken these efforts is looked on with trepidation by the administration. Saudi Arabia, one of the key states in this political-military strategy, imported $1.5 billion in goods from the United States last year and is among the firmest enforcers of the boycott.

"If we don't find the right companies in the United States we can move to the rest of the world and find the same standard," says Saudi Information Minister Mohammed Abdu Yamani. "Many industrial companies all over the world are competing" for Saudi favors. Assistant Treasury Secretary Gerald Parsky echoes this sentiment: "Most OPEC imports that come from the United States could be readily replaced with imports from the other major industrial countries."

One widely cited example here of such a possibility has been an alleged decision by Saudi Arabia to give a large communications contract to the Dutch Philips company rather than to ITT. Yet the Arab alternatives are not limitless, as demonstrated by this deal with a business located in Holland, the most pro-Israel nation in Europe.

Arab defense of the boycott hinges on justifying it as part of the conflict with Israel. While the Arab states have the right, of course, to boycott whomever they wish, this does not in any way alter the question of whether American companies should agree to go along with this action aimed at an American ally. What is especially irritating to many on Capitol Hill is the eagerness of State Department officials to defend the Arab position. Some Congressional critics argue that the administration's statements have tended to alarm the Arab governments by exaggerating the impact of anti-boycott measures here.

The boycott operates on four separate levels: (*1*) Arab refusal to trade, directly or indirectly, with Israel. (*2*) Blacklisting of U.S. companies trading with or maintaining subsidiaries in Israel. (*3*) Refusal to deal with U.S. companies which conduct business relations with blacklisted U.S. firms. (*4*) Exclusion of Jewish technicians or companies with Jewish executives from contracts.

All agree that the direct boycott can be altered only through progress toward a Middle East peace settlement and that direct discrimination against American citizens should be opposed. The administration wants to restrict any action, however, to the last point. Congressional critics want also to find mechanisms for dealing with points 2 and 3.

Suspicions of executive branch good faith were heightened by the data-gathering methods of the Commerce Department. From 1966 until October of last year, on the form for reporting boycott participation, companies were told that, while it was against U.S. policy for corporations to boycott a friendly country, such action was not against the law. In addition, they were told that information on boycott compliance was desired by the government, but not mandatory. These two provisions were

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called "winking," a signal that there was little concern about such actions. Both clauses have now been altered.

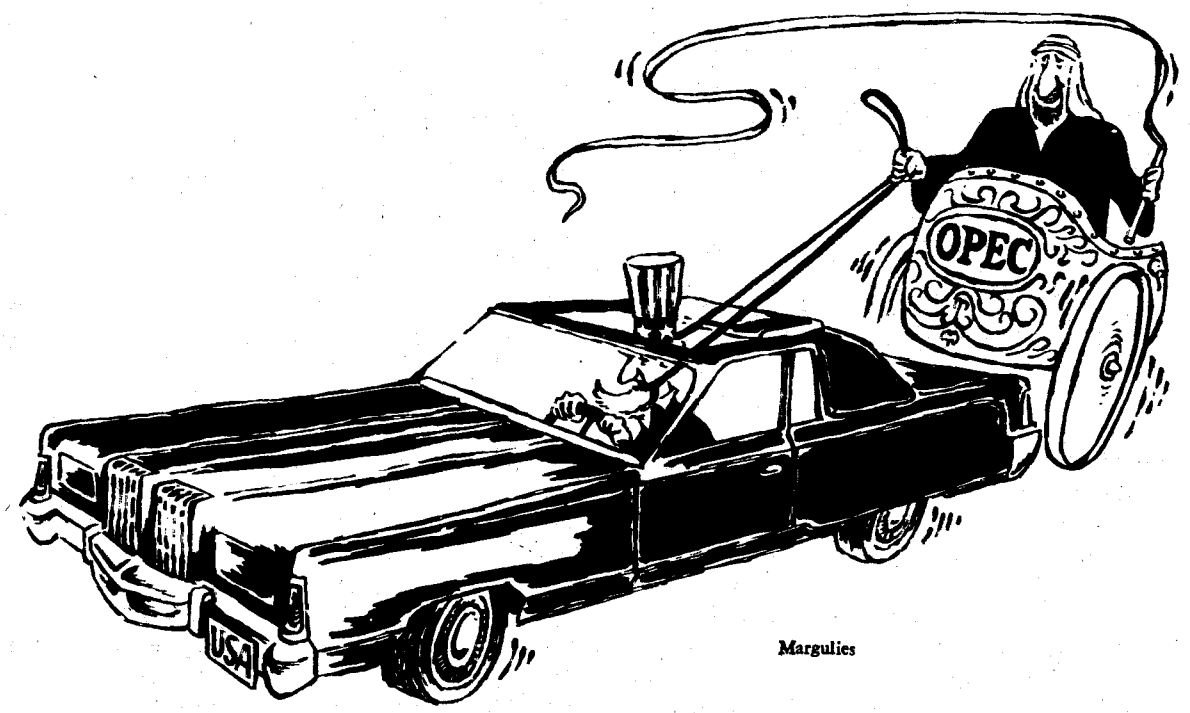
The law providing for submission of these forms, the Export Administration Act, expires September 30. Because of its importance to business and the administration, legislation for renewal has provided a useful vehicle for anti-boycott amendments. Most important is the amendment to S. 3084, proposed by Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D., Ill.) and a parallel proposal of Rep. Edward Koch (D., N.Y.).

Basically, these bills provide for possible removal or suspension of export licenses and fines of up to $10,000 on any company boycotting other U.S. businesses. They also prohibit revealing the race, religion or national origin of employees. Reports of compliance with these regulations would have to be made to the government and be released to the public.

economic front which I see presented by recent publicity given to the Arab League boycott."

Last November, the White House did announce a program to oppose direct discrimination. Commerce Secretary Rogers Morton then announced that his department would no longer disseminate Arab business offers which were contingent on acceptance of anti-Israel boycott provisions. In April, after a battle with Congress, Commerce agreed to release the names of companies charged with discrimination offenses. Generally, though, Commerce enforcement has been lax.

One encouraging sign is that when the Treasury and General Services Administration recently participated in filling a Saudi contract for electrical equipment, one-third of the order went to blacklisted General Electric. In an unusual arrangement, the Saudis had asked the U.S. Government to act as middleman in arranging the deals. Such an evenhanded policy would be a welcome change from the administration's embarrassment over the Bechtel case.



Margulies

The Senate has also adopted a provision in the Tax Reform Act that would bar incentives to American firms boycotting Israel. Business executives could face up to a year in jail if they fail to report earnings made through boycott adherence.

The attitude of business toward these proposals is ambiguous. Some firms, with extensive dealings with Arab countries in engineering projects, oil and weaponry, are outspoken in their fear that legislation will drive away Arab business. Others, however, have welcomed protection. A July 1974 letter to Kissinger from top executives of CBS, Coca-Cola, Ford, Monsanto, Motorola, RCA, Republic Steel and Whirlpool called for anti-boycott action.

While a case can be made for caution, timidity has characterized the government's approach. There is a tendency to view the problem not in terms of the boycott's threat to human rights and the maintenance of an independent U.S. policy but to worry about the criticism it arouses. Thus, Parsky in a March speech spoke of his concern "about the threat to continued progress on the

It is common knowledge in Washington that the Justice Department has been restrained from suing boycotters because of pressure from the triumvirate of Commerce, State and Treasury. One major company, Bechtel, is being prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act for blacklisting American companies; the case may be five or ten years in the courts. The government looked even worse when Bechtel counter-charged that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Geological Survey had "engaged in the same activities as those charged against the defendants" in discriminating against Jewish employees and boycotting U.S. companies.

Despite some lapses, though, administration strategy seems to be to condemn direct discrimination while closing its eyes to other aspects of the boycott. Morton called one case of Jordanian religious discrimination a "distortion of the boycott."

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Under Secretary of Commerce James A. Baker III carried this theory of the "good" and "bad" boycotts one step further in a controversial Texas speech. "It is unfortunate that the terms 'discrimination' and 'boycott' have come to be viewed as synonymous," he said. "I would not contend that there have not been instances of attempted religious or ethnic discrimination uncovered. But it has been our experience that such instances are rare and represent isolated acts of individuals rather than the boycott practices of the Arabs."

The administration is continuing lobbying efforts on the Hill against any anti-boycott legislation, including the moderate Koch-Stevenson proposals. Treasury Secretary William Simon told the House International Relations Committee, "No additional legislation is necessary or desirable at this time" as it "would be detrimental to the totality of United States interests both here and in the Middle East."

"The integrity of everybody who participates or acquiesces to the boycott is called into question," comments Scheuer aide Bill Signer. In the light of his image and political ambitions, Commerce Secretary Elliot Richardson's position on the boycott is of special interest.

Richardson, as Baker pointed out, has the authority to prohibit American concerns from complying with Arab requests for information. But he has not done so, Baker continued, because "a businessman should be free to make a choice between two countries when certain commercial relations with one may result in retaliation by the other." But if all business were ordered to cease supplying information, it would obviously protect individual firms from retaliation.

The view taken by Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board is in sharp contrast with Simon's conclusions. The board has sent out warnings to its 5,800 commercial bank affiliates calling on them to adhere to "both the letter and spirit" of the anti-boycott measures. Further, Burns told the House International Relations Committee that Congressional action would be needed if diplomacy fails to remedy the situation.

Meanwhile, it appears that the administration is seeking to stall action on the boycott. The Export Administration Act expires at the end of September, five weeks before the national election. Ford wants to avoid the embarrassment of vetoing a relatively mild measure while seeking to keep in effect the needed trade law.

Maintaining good relations with the Arab world is a reasonable aim of American foreign policy. If quiet diplomacy can bring a solution to the troublesome boycott problem that is acceptable, which means compatible with traditional American principles, then the diplomatic effort should, of course, continue. But it has been going on without much effect for quite a while and the spinelessness our government has shown so far on an issue of such profound principle is unlikely to win us either friends or respect anywhere. □

WESTERN GOVERNORS GET TOGETHER

ENERGY AND STATES' RIGHTS

MEG LUNDSTROM

> "Whether it's Colorado or the Congo, colonies have certain things in common. The first is that outside people come in to exploit the place not for the benefit of local people, but for the benefit of others. Colorado has only five Congressmen in Washington. There are some 40 Congressmen from California alone. You know, there are 212,000 swimming pools in Los Angeles, and they are full of Colorado water right now. . . . Colorado's people have to make sure that *we* set the conditions for the production and development of our resources."
>
> *—Richard Lamm, now Governor of Colorado, in* New York Times Magazine *during 1974 campaign.*

In January 1975, Secretary of the Interior Rogers P. Morton met with the Western Governors for what was billed as a "listening session" on coal development. Morton, however, did most of the talking. He outlined plans for a fivefold increase in coal production in the West, saying that world instability added "particular urgency" to the program. It was not a comfortable meeting. As a result, the Western Governors took their first steps that day to form a regional coalition specifically on energy issues, steps which led to the formation of the Western Governors Regional Energy Policy Office (WGREPO) in April.

With 42 per cent of the nation's coal reserves and all its high-grade oil shale, the Western states, with only 3 per cent of the country's population, are facing heavy developmental pressures from the federal government and energy companies. These pressures are intensified by the fact that the federal government controls approximately 43 per cent of the land in the West, and is the major lessor to private industry of tracts for the development of coal and oil shale. WGREPO, it was hoped, would strengthen the Governors' collective hand in Washington, and provide a vehicle for the development of a cohesive energy policy for the region.

The formation of such an organization was predictable. The West, like the South, has always been culturally estranged from the industrial East. In the face of a threat, it's a small step from cultural regionalism to political regionalism.

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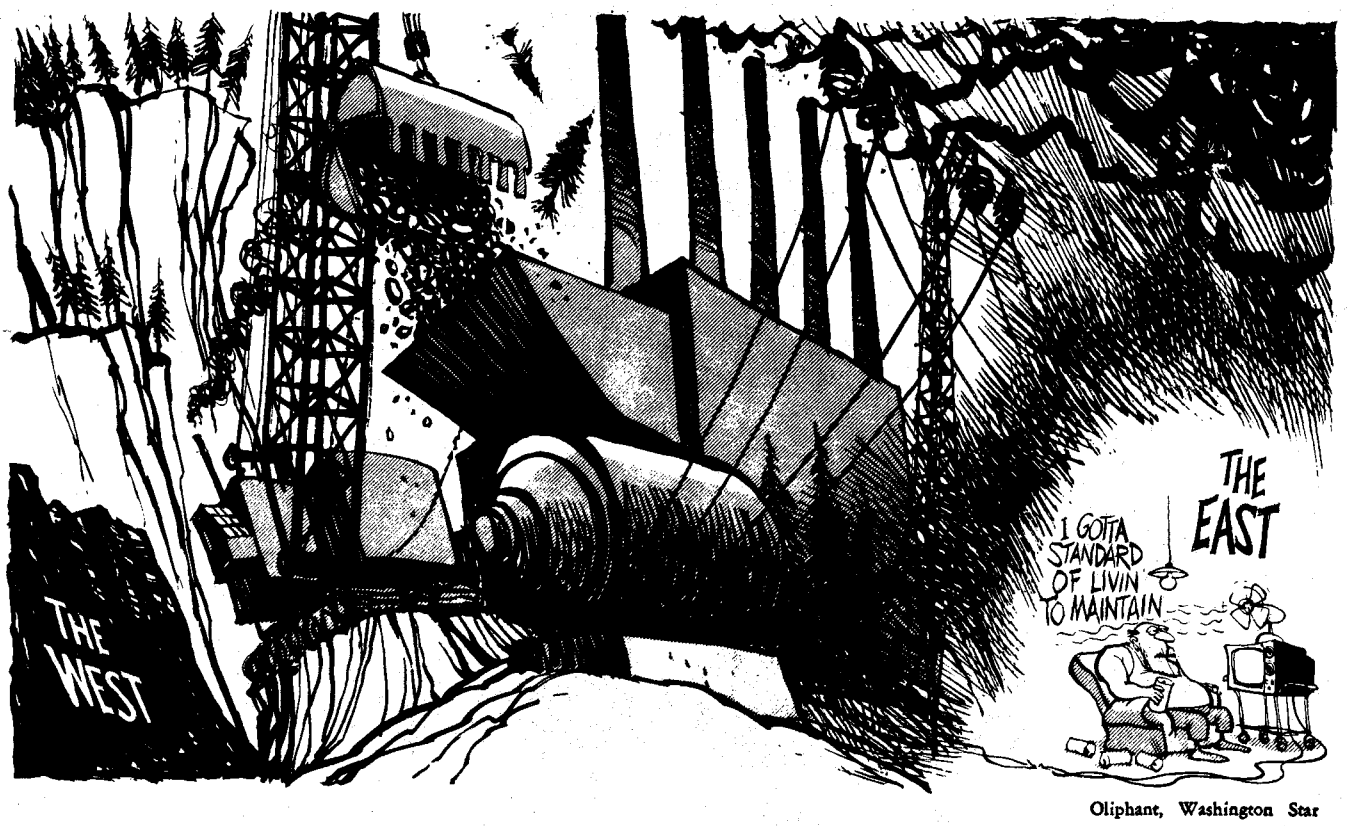
Yet the coalition has had its tensions from the beginning. Although all the Governors, for the first time in recent years, are Democrats, their ideological differences on the development/environment issue run from Calvin Rampton of Utah on the Right, who favors full-scale oil shale development and who fought for the now dead Kaiporowits power plant, to Thomas Judge of Montana and Richard Lamm of Colorado on the Left, both of whom were elected on strong environmentalist platforms.

From state to state, the voters differ in their attitudes toward resource development. In Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming and Colorado, resource development is a major concern and a strong campaign issue, and the first three states have enacted the toughest reclamation laws in the region. In New Mexico and South Dakota, the issue is not as important. In Utah and Arizona, there is generally acceptance of, and even enthusiasm for, development.

Now, a year after formation of WGREPO, it is clear that these differences have precluded aggressive, unified conservationist actions by the Governors: they have disappointed those environmentalists who credited Western Democratic Governors with ecological priorities. They have also failed, understandably, to take determined steps to create a regional energy policy, a goal which seems to elude even the federal government.

denominator of agreement," is a pragmatic decision. Environmentalists say it is minimal; the Governors say it is critical. Both may be correct.

WGREPO and the Governors have been involved in three series of negotiations with the federal government, with moderate degrees of success. In negotiations with the Department of the Interior on mining reclamation standards, the Governors asked for—and received, although in severely limited form—a guarantee that state reclamation laws, when as strong as federal laws, would apply on federal lands. The state laws, however, can be overruled by the Secretary of the Interior if he determines they would "unreasonably and substantially prevent the mining of federal coal" in the state and if he feels it is in the "overriding national interest" to mine the coal. In coal-leasing discussions with Interior, the Governors sought leasing procedures which would allow the states a voice in site decisions. They received provisions promising extensive consultation, but were denied explicit veto powers. In the 1975 Energy Research and Development Administration appropriation bill, the Governors worked to include requirements for state participation in a $6 billion synthetic fuels loan guarantee program, assurances that state laws, where stronger, would apply to land reclamation and plant sitings, whether on federal or private land, and a limited veto power over proposed projects. The loan guarantee program was defeated



Oliphant, Washington Star

Yet the West has been well served by WGREPO. The Governors have found one tie to bind them together: the issue of states' rights, as reflected in the procedural ability of the states to influence national energy decisions affecting their future. This unspoken agreement to concentrate on states' rights, termed "the lowest common

soundly on the House floor. It has been resurrected again this year, incorporating basically the same provisions, but has limited chance of House passage.

Environmentalists feel the Governors ask for too little and receive even less. Kathy Fletcher, Environmental Defense Fund staff scientist, termed the reclamation regula-

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tions "terrible." WGREPO's negotiations, she said, "had very little effect, substantively speaking, although they may have set some procedural precedents."

The Governors have not, in any of the three areas, received all they asked for, but that is to be expected. Their bargaining position is fundamentally weak; the Governors are clearly not politically united enough, or even legally equipped, to confront the federal government head on. Chips Berry, WGREPO staff attorney, put it succinctly: "We have a fundamental constitutional dispute with the federal government which will never be solved in mere negotiations on reclamation regulations. These states' rights issues must be solved eventually in the courts."

The organization has difficulties ahead. Substantively, the Governors must decide whether to tackle such questions as water allocation, the transportation of coal by pipeline or railroad, and nuclear power plants. Administratively, there's been some discontent with William Guy, former Governor of North Dakota, who is now WGREPO director. Politically, it may face some disruptions if Republicans are elected to any of the three seats up for re-election this November. Financially, it will have to turn to the states for funding in a couple of years. But even if the organization itself founders, it's likely that concerted action on energy issues will continue on some other basis.

It's not likely the West will go to war to protect its coal fields, as the South went to war to protect its cotton fields. It's also unlikely that the federal government will have the luxury of unilateral decision making, or unqualified control of the West's energy resources. □

WORKERS IN MANAGEMENT

Northern Europe's Labor Laboratory

WILLIAM B. GOULD

Ever since the beginning of the 1970s, the German and Scandinavian trade union movements have voiced their increasing dissatisfaction with the limits of collective bargaining. These unions have put themselves behind reforms which fly under the broad banner of workers' participation legislation. (Although the Swedes and Norwegians have produced bold experiments designed to relieve assembly-line boredom, legislative proposals have not yet concerned themselves directly with such matters.)

For the Swedish unions, an inability to reverse their labor court's decisions establishing the doctrine that unions may only challenge rules which management promulgates in a variety of areas (a proposition still well established in America), has made them turn to the law and their political ally, the Social Democratic Party, for help. In Germany, the economic crisis, coupled with a Social Democratic government (however restrained by its more conservative Free Democratic coalition partner) seems to have accelerated the demands of the DGB, the German central labor federation. Despite the fact that the British trade union movement is both ambivalent and confused by the idea of workers' participation legislation and the debate in Germany and Scandinavia—and the French and Italians are downright hostile on the ground that it is a capitalist trick—such laws are being watched closely in Europe and elsewhere.

The hope is that Germany, Sweden and Norway may be able to teach others how labor and management can move away from the "them-and-us" mentality which is so often associated with collective bargaining—particularly in class-ridden Britain, which has established a special commission to make recommendations on possible legislation. Even in the United States—where there has been little interest in the subject—the United Auto Workers has proposed in this year's contract negotiations that Chrysler place worker representatives on the company's board of directors.

West Germany is where workers' representation in management institutions was first established by law under the British occupation (ironical in the light of Britain's continuing plague of industrial relations problems). In the coal and steel industry, *Mitbestimmung*, or co-determination, was required by law in 1951, thus providing that workers and management be represented equally on the supervisory board or *Aufsichtsrat* (the equivalent of our board of directors). When this principle of parity was not extended to the rest of German industry, the threat of a general strike in 1952 produced the Works Constitution Act which provided for one-third workers' representation at board level. In addition to the frustrations necessarily bound up with minority representation, the trade unions were not assured of institutional involvement—representation being established for union *or* non-union employees.

In fact, however, the last mentioned features of the law have not been troublesome. In the first place, the worker-directors are usually union members and quite often union officials. And, most important, German law protects the existence of plant-level organizations called works councils (*Betriebsrat*) with whom the German unions usually have a close relationship. What is particu-

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larly significant here is that 1972 amendments to the Works Constitution Act provide works councils with a veto over a wide variety of decisions on employment conditions, e.g., hiring, firing, hours of work. Deadlock between works councils and management can be broken only by a third-party neutral or the German labor court.

It is the works council system (whose origins date back to before World War II) and the power given to these bodies by law that are largely responsible for employee participation in Germany. Not only is their involvement at plant level conducive to better employee information on management's economic position but the works council tends to make management more sensitive to worker reactions when major economic decisions involving layoffs, plant relocation and closures are presented to the supervisory board.

Yet the Germans, like the Swedes (but not the Norwegians), have been dissatisfied with what they have. The DGB goal has been the extension of full parity at board level to all industry—not just coal and steel. Although the 1972 amendments to the law swing the balance of power toward the workers, the trade union program of co-determination beyond plant level has been frustrated—principally because of the key position of the Social Democratic Party's coalition partner, the Free Democrats.

A law enacted this past spring by the German legislature provides that in all enterprises with more than 2,000 employees (those with less are governed by the old law) there must be trade union as well as worker representation on the board—but although the number of worker representatives equal those of the shareholders, there are some important qualifications. In the first place, the employee side is divided into three groups—blue collar, white collar and middle management (the third group is poorly organized and considered hostile by the unions). Second, in the event that the board members are unable to agree upon a chairman (a two-thirds majority is needed) the shareholders' representatives elect the chairman, who may break tie votes. While these two features give the workers less than parity, German management is fearful that its freedom to act is unduly restricted and plans legal action to enjoin the law's implementation on the ground that it violates the West German constitution. One concern is that the workers will have too much influence in the special working committees (*Ausschutz*) where they have equal representation. More specifically, the employers fear that through such procedures the unions may unduly influence appointments to the management board (*Vorstand*).

The unions are also unhappy with the 1976 law, primarily because they believe that they have the illusion of parity without the reality. As time goes on and the law comes into full effect in two years, this could produce resentment among the rank and file—particularly if the relatively complicated and lengthy voting procedures produce few tangible benefits.

The Swedes and Norwegians have taken different routes toward worker participation than the Germans. Both countries enacted experimental legislation in 1973 which provides for minority representation for the unions (Sweden) or workers (Norway) on the board. In both countries, the general view is that the result has been better informed workers and healthier labor-management relationship—but in Sweden, as in Germany, another law has been added this year.

The Swedes have concluded that further extension of co-determination should take place through collective bargaining and not by law. To provide an incentive for such changes, unions may strike to obtain an agreement on co-determination without violating the no-strike provisions in their contracts—but Swedish employers have vowed to refuse to enter into wage agreements without resolving co-determination issues as well. The management objective is that the unions should waive their new right to strike over co-determination and the "peace obligation" would thus retain its practical value for employers.

The main thrust of the new Swedish legislation—while sharing many of the German objectives—is to expand union rights in the collective bargaining arena. Employers are now obligated to provide Swedish local unions with all confidential information—but it is not to be released to the rank and file or others. And while employers retain the right to make final decisions, the local may negotiate on so-called "management prerogatives," e.g., investments, marketing, pricing, etc. Further, where employees refuse to perform assignments on the ground that they are outside their job classification or because they are allegedly unsafe, employees are generally not obligated to perform the work—and if the employer insists, management must initiate proceedings before the labor court. Moreover, if the union believes the work performed by contractors on company premises belongs to the company's own employees, it has a veto against the contracting-out policy.

A basic assumption behind both the German and Swedish approaches is that participation is more likely to create an atmosphere of responsibility and harmony. (The Germans are attempting to get some form of *Mitbestimmung* at both board and plant level into law at the European Economic Community level.) The Swedes and Norwegians are too new to the game to allow for definitive conclusions about the success of their legislation. But in the German coal industry, the work force was cut by more than half in the 1950s and the unions focused upon obtaining benefits for the displaced rather than using parity as a club to oppose change. German management points out that all this took place within the context of a full-employment economy; a different economic situation could alter the union stance.

By way of rejoinder, the powerful German Metalworkers' Union (IG Metal) points out that neither the works council nor union representatives on the supervisory board blocked Volkswagen's decision to build a new plant in America—even though the short-run impact did not promote German jobs.

Yet, as so often happens, the law may reflect societal forces and not the converse. Despite the support of the British Trades Union Congress for similar laws in the U.K. (Britain's central federation wants full parity at

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the board level) it is highly doubtful that such an approach would work as well or at all in that country. For Germany and Scandinavia have disciplined work forces with good records of industrial peace, and industrial unions that bargain effectively for most workers in the plant. Equally important is the fact that these two countries have social security systems which tend to lessen workers' anxieties about job security. As in France and Italy, many in Britain would regard worker representation as co-optation in the worst sense of the word.

As for American trade unionists, the answer is probably the same as in Britain for remarkably different reasons. UAW-Chrysler negotiations notwithstanding, foreigners are usually amazed by the lack of American union interest in various forms of worker representation schemes. In this country, the trade union philosophy of collective bargaining encourages a deference to concepts of management prerogatives. Yet America and Britain may not be able to isolate themselves from the lessons of Germany and Scandinavia. Throughout most of the industrially advanced world, workers are willing to challenge practices some of which, in this country, are accurately categorized as management prerogatives. Most certainly, American trade unionists do not constitute an exception to this trend away from deference. But the form of German and Scandinavian legislation on these matters is woven from all the strands that make up the social fabrics of those countries. Adapting their approaches to increased worker participation in economic decisions to a foreign soil will be no easy matter, and the differences between Germany and Scandinavia in dealing with this question clearly prove that point. □

LEGISLATIVE 'OVERSIGHT'

Congressional Staffs on the Spot

J. DANIEL O'FLAHERTY

In the wake of Presidential war, Watergate and the scandals of an uncontrolled "intelligence" apparatus, Congress has been trying to reassert itself as a counterweight to the executive's power. The effort to redress the balance in favor of the legislative branch has taken two forms: explicit new oversight powers and functions for Congress, and measures to diminish executive authority and latitude.

"Oversight" is an unwieldy term for a role that is none too clear, even in the minds of many who advance it as a remedy for executive branch abuse and legerdemain. This is especially true in the area of foreign and national security policy where far more has been overlooked than overseen. If oversight is to mean supervision, rather than a failure to notice, one has to ask who in the Congress is to be the agent of improved supervision of the Defense Department, the CIA, the FBI and company, and how they are to achieve it.

Generally, the responsibility for enhanced supervision of executive branch activities falls to the relevant committees and subcommittees of Congress, either newly created for the task (the new Senate Select Committee on Intelligence), or established committees stirred to action (the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under Senator Sparkman) or subject to reformist raiding parties (Rep. Les Aspin's role on the House Armed Services Committee).

Obviously, the political composition of Congressional committees determines whether they have the stomach for energetic supervision, but a tremendous amount of the actual work, the day-to-day monitoring of the executive branch, is carried out by the committees' staffs. And there is the rub, because there is a dynamic in the relationship between legislators and staffers which all too often can subtly soften the necessary consistent and tough supervision.

This is not to exaggerate the importance of Congressional staffs, or to deny the presence on them of large numbers of able and knowledgeable people. Nor is it to deny that there are a great many reasons for Congress' shortcomings, most of which are no secret to anyone—hence its rock-bottom standing in polls of the public's confidence. The public preening of egos and the private practice of avarice, with a pinch of the spice of sexual adventurism, have much to do with Congress' role as a rich source of American humor. Much of the journalistic treatment of the recent Congressional sex scandals took the view that the function of staff on Capitol Hill is a matter of individual caprice and therefore largely incidental to the political process.

There is in these scandals, however, a clue to an institutional pattern with consequences for public policy: effective oversight of the national security establishment requires committees and staffs with enough self-confidence, independence and consistency of purpose to supervise some very tough customers. But since staffs are vulnerable to attack and dismissal, they are often more insecure and cautious than their bosses.

Members of a staff owe their continued employment to the good will of their Congressmen. They are not protected by bureaucratic regulations or by a civil service. This denies them the autonomy and security which are required in order for them to act effectively in an oversight capacity. These liabilities are magnified by the type of authority relations that are the norm on Capitol Hill.

Committee staffs are either appointed by the chairman (as was the case with Congressman Hays's staff) and the ranking minority member, or individually designated

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by each committee member (as is the case with the new Senate Select Committee on Intelligence). In both cases the staffers are beholden to a legislator, and it is only human (and indeed rational, from the aide's point of view) that the political interests of the boss will tend to come first.

The basic characteristics of all Congressional staff jobs are thus to be found in the personal staffs of individual legislators, which unambiguously serve the political interests of their bosses. The essence of personal staffs is some degree of vulnerability and insecurity, over and above, but not unrelated to, the possibility of the boss being voted out of office. The jobs are often ill defined, or vary from day to day in duties and responsibilities; aides serve at the pleasure of their bosses, so that anxieties are frequently built into the situation. Most staffers try to reduce this uncertainty and anxiety by protecting their bosses (and therefore themselves) from as much unpleasantness as possible. Staffers are periodically reminded that the cost of independent action, or certainly of being themselves a potential embarrassment to their boss, is suddenly to be out of work.

This is all quite legitimate and necessary from the point of view of a member of Congress, but there are unintended institutional results. The most important of them is to assure a built-in conservatism. Undoubtedly a canvass of political attitudes would find Capitol Hill staff as a group to be more liberal than the legislators they serve. But the vulnerability of staffers, and their powerful instinct to protect the boss (even from himself if need be), causes most staff to be immensely cautious. This is inherent in the staff function as a screen between the boss and activities, people and positions which might be politically embarrassing, or simply unpleasant. Better to screen too much than too little.

A recent example of a staffer who may be said to have screened too much is Senator Inouye's administrative assistant who is under investigation by the Senate Ethics Committee for taking an illegal campaign contribution from Gulf Oil without telling the Senator, who ended up testifying in Federal District Court about the matter.

This is not to say that members of Congress are prisoners of their staffs, but merely that, in dealing with a legislator, the most difficult task is often to fight past timid and solicitous staffers to find a politician who is frequently bolder and more decisive. However compelling the reasons for this system, it often has a very negative effect on the ability of Congress to oversee the executive branch, especially in foreign affairs, where the opposition and resistance to supervision is simply very tough. The national security establishment, after all, bites, and bites hard.

The natural vulnerabilities of Congressional staffs pose endless opportunities for a resourceful executive branch agency to exploit, by holding out the possibility of more secure employment in the future with the agency, or by subtle, or not so subtle, intimidation. Caution and even timidity are often the better part of valor. One suspects, for example, that future generations of staffers will bear in mind the fate of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, whose staff was one of the objects of an intensive, unproductive $150,000 investigation by the House Ethics Committee to find out who leaked the Select Committee's final report in such a way that it ended up in *The Village Voice*.

The difficulty of maintaining a committee staff for oversight which is sufficiently protected to carry out decent supervision is illustrated by the recent history of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations. Under Senator Church's chairmanship, this subcommittee irreverently brought to light some of the Western world's nastiest secrets, from ITT in Chile, to the machinations of the international oil companies, to corporate bribery by Lockheed and others in Italy, Japan and elsewhere. So it is not surprising that there are rumors that the subcommittee's staff may not be extended in the next Congress: to abolish that staff in the name of "unified staff" for the entire Senate Foreign Relations Committee would effectively silence the subcommittee.

In superintending matters of defense, atomic energy, intelligence and diplomacy, Congress needs the knowledgeable and persistent involvement of staffs who can consistently, and in some security, rise above the political interests of particular legislators. Only if that is possible can Congress enforce higher standards of behavior and accountability on powerful agencies of the executive branch.

This, of course, depends upon the willingness of the politicians to be responsible, in the sense that they are willing to devote time and resources to an often unnoticed and politically unrewarding task. The chances of this are greatly diminished by the high "flap potential" in the national security area. The political risks (being accused of weakening the nation's defenses or exposing government secrets) so vastly outweigh the political benefits (the applause of a small group of voters for a job well done), that it is hardly surprising that Congress has not been a tiger on national security reforms, despite the provocations of Vietnam, Watergate and the intelligence agencies.

There have been efforts to create counter-bureaucracies, responsive to Congress, but exempt from the conditions of the collective barony which inhibit staffs. The General Accounting Office, and the newly created Congressional Budget Office (to forecast the cost of proposed programs objectively) and the Office of Technology Assessment (to evaluate the impact of technological developments) are examples of this. Their problem, however, is the opposite of that of Congressional staffs: they have no political godfathers and consequently no independent political clout.

Congress has, for very good reasons, moved to reassert its authority over crucial areas of public policy and, in particular, to resist the encroachment of the executive branch. The administrative bureaucracies have proven, in many cases, a most undesirable location for decision making. But Congress is not an abstraction. Most of its day-to-day work is done by staffers whose status is precarious and whose responsibilities are very often ambiguous. As Congress enlarges its supervisory functions, it will also have to reconsider its relationship to its personnel. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Recasting American Historical Consciousness

AMERICA CONFRONTS A REVOLUTIONARY WORLD: 1776-1976. *By William Appleman Williams. William Morrow & Co. 224 pp. $8.95.*

MICHAEL ZUCKERMAN

Apart from the White House-broken ones such as Schlesinger, few historians have had the run of the corridors of power in recent years. And even those few have had no real impact on politics and policies.

But one historian who has never sat near the seats of the mighty has affected the tenor of public affairs where the Presidential chroniclers and court jesters have not. William Appleman Williams has, in Mailer's phrase, turned the consciousness of his time; or at any rate he has turned as much of it as a man ever does with books. He is probably the most influential—and perhaps the only influential—American historian of our day.

For the past two decades he, his students, and his students' students have been digging beneath American professions of disinterested benevolence in the diplomatic arena and discovering a foreign policy of insatiable expansionism. Taken together, their discoveries represent the intellectual root of contemporary disenchantment with the dogmas of the cold war. And quite by itself his analysis has become as nearly orthodox, especially among the young, as an essentially Marxist and profoundly critical view of our national past is ever likely to become among us.

Its achievement of such acceptance is remarkable not only for its political implications but also for its improbability. Williams's early works appeared when bipartisanship was in bloom and the weeds of dissidence were routinely dosed with one or another brand of McCarthyism. The only opposition abroad in the land was the self-styled realism of the Kennans, which the passing years have proven as implacably attached to the assumptions of the cold war as the dogmatic moralism the realists assailed. And beyond all that, Williams himself has never had many influential friends and promoters or any obviously influential forums in which to work. He has been for many years now a teacher at Oregon State University.

His accomplishment in the face of such obstacles compels caution in pronouncing the project he has presently taken up an impossible one. But the ambition explicit in *America Confronts A Revolutionary World: 1776-1976* is certainly problematic if not preposterous. For Williams aspires more than merely to alter again our understanding of the substantive sweep and import of American history. He means, more elementally, to recast American historical consciousness itself. His intention is to transform our sense of the past as such.

"Americans are strong on celebrating anniversaries," he explains, "but weak on informing our lives with the history we commemorate." Because we have so little "feel of the past," and so much fear of it, our feel for the future is "cramped and twisted" too. We conceive the future only "as a projection of the present" and so become prisoners of the present, unable or afraid to imagine real change.

Ironically enough, moreover, our fears derive from the founding fathers. The men who made the new nation "studied history, perhaps more than any other generation of Americans," yet studied it in such a way as to "cut themselves off from it." And James Madison, who studied history perhaps more, and certainly more profoundly, than any other founding father, led the way.

In the Revolution, Americans declared the principle Williams takes to be at once our inheritance from the past and our access to the future: "the revolutionary right of self-determination." In the Articles of Confederation they erected a government upon that principle, institutionalizing a diversity of distinctive sovereignties and addressing the future confidently and creatively. But in 1787 they "subverted" and ultimately wrought "the destruction of the ideal underlying the American Revolution." In the Constitution they dishonored their "central tradition." And the basis of their behavior was Madison's "intellectual revolution."

Madison undid the classical political presumption that self-determining republican communities could preserve themselves from falling into tyranny only by remaining small. He argued, ingeniously and brilliantly, that small republics were more rather than less susceptible to despotic usurpation. He insisted that wide geographic dispersion would serve rather than disserve the cause of freedom. And the men who made the Constitution in Philadelphia embraced his argument and set forth to seek an extensive empire for liberty.

The trouble was, as Williams says, that Madison was "a highly intelligent person who was as wrong as anyone can be." Expansion does not underwrite freedom. "Expansion is nothing more than a polite word for empire. And empire is the end of freedom." Upon the adoption of the Constitution, and its substitution of a consolidated state for the self-determinations of separate communities, "the rate of *structural* change promptly dropped almost to zero, and the revolutionary outlook became increasingly conservative; ultimately, indeed, counterrevolutionary."

The unfolding of that counterrevolutionary realization over succeeding generations is the stuff of Williams's story. And he is a rollicking as well as a relentless storyteller. His narrative is often convincing, occasionally outrageous, and always engaging and alive. His judgments are fresh and provocative, because they are based scrupulously on standards that are more important to him in their own right than as instruments for validating an established radical canon. He hails a few indubitable conservatives, such as John Quincy Adams and Herbert Hoover, for their ability to rise above their attachment to expansion and their fear of the future. He assails any number of progressives for their inability to do as much. His Lincoln, to take but a single example, is a man who understood utterly the logic of expansion and played upon it shamelessly to provoke the South to civil war. He is also an inveterate imperialist whose management of events doomed decisively the revolutionary right of secession for the sake of self-determination and whose manipulation of language prefigured perfectly the cold-war cant of our own age. Recent Presidential press secretaries might readily have learned from him how to use the rhetoric of revolution to justify

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repression, so that "the final subversion" might be "sanctified in the name of the original principle."

In a season of syrupy celebration, Williams is one of those rare American birds who has refused to see the Bicentennial as a reason for self-satisfied retrospection. He has insisted that we face, and attempt to fathom, our retreat from revolution and our increasing cordiality to counterrevolution. And exactly by recalling us to our revolutionary heritage, he has given us one of our only becoming commemorations of our Bicentennial.

He has not, however, fulfilled his initial ambition to alter our ideas of the past *per se*. His philosophy of time is as empty and incoherent as his history of the last 200 years is rich and resonant. He depends upon terms he never defines, substituting capitalization for characterization of the Past, Present and Future. Or, if he defines them, he does so differently at different stages of his argument, according to his convenience. His Present, for example, is founded now upon property, now upon "individualistic capitalism," now upon the status quo, and now upon self-determination; no matter that the pre-Revolutionary Past was also founded upon property, or that individualistic capitalism becomes corporate capitalism yet remains the Present, or that the status quo was not always capitalistic (the men who opposed the 19th-century women's rights movement to "preserve the American Present" preserved thereby a pre-capitalistic female role against feminist efforts to gain access to the capitalistic system), or that the Past and the Future too are identifiable by their association with self-determination.

None of this self-indulgent spewing of capital letters leads anywhere, because Williams ultimately exhibits no developed notions of Past, Present or Future. His terms function primarily as pejorative and honorific labels by which he gains a bit of detachment from his rage. It seems to give him a certain satisfaction to call things nasty names, even if the pleasure costs him any effective comprehension of the things themselves. For surely it does not advance understanding to disparage the American Revolution by maintaining that French revolutionaries "accepted their Past" and Americans did not, when the French made such notorious efforts to upheave their past. It does not enhance analysis to declare the ante-bellum South indistinguishable from the North in adherence to the Present, when a different polemic context a few pages later elegizes that same South as a region in touch with its Past and cut off in its development "in its own way into its own Future." And it does not increase explanatory power to accept contemporary accounts of the labor unions of the late 19th century as avatars of the Past and Future and encomiums to the giant corporations of the same age as expressions of the Present, when both represented the same principles of unprecedented aggregation.

Worse, Williams's indiscriminate castigation of everything that prevails in America as an embodiment, somehow, of his horrific Present disserves his own deepest purposes of inspiring us to action. Exactly because he would have us "recover our Past so that we can then imagine and create our Future," he paralyzes us by portraying that Past so bleakly. Exactly because he would have us be brave in confronting our revolutionary world, he discourages us by demonstrating how incessantly we have been "cowed by . . . fear of the Future." There is a disturbing equivocality in a call to courage addressed to a people whose whole history is, on the caller's own representation, cowardice.

And yet, there may be something more than this. Williams will fail in his attempt to alter American apprehensions of time, and he will fail simply because he deserves to fail, because there is nothing compelling enough in his formulation to make its way into our minds as has his interpretation of our international ambition. But the impulse behind his philosophical befuddlement and frustration—the felt urgency of movement that would welcome almost any Future, simply so as not to perpetuate the Present—may well prevail. His willingness to "give over in peace" if the barbarians land at Plymouth Rock, because they would at least "move us off dead center," is not so different from the American mood that, in the latest polls, gives Jimmy Carter a good edge over his Republican rival.

Of course, Carter is no redneck barbarian. But neither, as Williams sees with despondent clarity, are the Communists really Red barbarians. There are "no true barbarians on the horizon. . . . Everyone with the interest in conquering us, or the power to do so, is lusting for our Present. A dreary prospect." So if we would change we will have to accept "the challenge of being our own barbarians." We will have to "create for the first time an American Future," using our revolutionary right of self-determination to make "a community instead of a marketplace."

History will be of no help in meeting such a challenge—or, at any rate, Williams's history will be of no help—since such history shows only craven capitula-

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edited by B. J. Widick
foreword by Eli Ginzberg

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tion. It affords no leverage even on how we might be brave, let alone revolutionary. But then, history never is much help. If the men who made the Revolution had had to depend upon it, they would never have brought forth a new nation. For the revolutionary right of self-determination which they declared was never a notion which enjoyed powerful support from Americans. It could hardly have been surrendered so speedily if it had been. Williams simply deludes himself in supposing that many ever thought it their central commitment or their living tradition.

But at a decisive instant it did command assent, as it never had before. At that moment, inexplicably, the Americans surpassed themselves, and enshrined their self-surpassing in words that would thenceforth afford a certain counterpoise to the uglier and more prevalent aspirations at large in the land.

There is nothing in the historical record to indicate that we can achieve a similar self-renewal. An historian would have to bet against us. But there was nothing in the record, before 1776, to suggest that the colonists could transcend themselves either. And that, perhaps above all, is reason to celebrate the 200th anniversary of their accomplishment. □

Immaculate Deception

ALONE OF ALL HER SEX: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary. *By Marina Warner. Alfred A. Knopf. 400 pp. $15.*

JOAN M. FERRANTE

With all the women, contemporary or historical, who have commanded new attention in recent years, the Virgin Mary remains one of the most influential and perplexing. We know practically nothing about the historical figure but a great deal about the legend; we have been exposed to her through centuries of Western culture. For many Catholics, she is still an object of devotion and hope, still the subject of visions and of official dogma. But there is probably no figure of major importance left in modern culture, male or female, about whom so little is actually known. How her cult developed and why she should have continued to grow in prestige through the present century, despite attempts on the part of the modern Church to root out legend in other areas, are questions that should be confronted not only by Catholics but by anyone interested in the history of Western civilization and particularly in its attitudes toward women. At the end of the book, Warner concludes:

> The Virgin Mary is not the innate archetype of female nature, the dream incarnate; she is the instrument of a dynamic argument from the Catholic Church about the structure of society, presented as a God-given code. The argument changes, according to contingencies.

The Virgin, in other words, has been the tool of Catholic policy makers. This point and one other, that a horror of sex lies at the base of most of the beliefs and teachings about the Virgin, are the basic concepts which emerge from, and perhaps shaped, Warner's study. They may offend some, but they should not. This is not a rabble-rousing tract but a controlled presentation of facts painstakingly culled, tracing the pragmatic as well as the psychological origins of many aspects of the cult of Mary.

The author was a devotee of Mary during her childhood in religious schools, and her decision to investigate the subject is based on a desire to understand her own conflicting emotions and attitudes. She approaches Mary with sympathy and good will but also with the intellectual curiosity and skepticism that come of years of exposure to the paradoxes. She studies the figure of Mary under each of her major aspects—Virgin, Queen, Bride, Mother, and Intercessor—beginning with the rather minor part she plays in the New Testament. The Biblical references tell us only that Mary was the mother of Christ; the other three officially declared dogma—her virginity, the Immaculate Conception, the bodily Assumption into heaven—have little or no basis in Scripture, indeed in some respects they seem to be contradicted by it. Allusions to Jesus's sisters and brothers, for instance, raise questions about Mary's virginity which have inspired various solutions, from the fairly simple interpretation, all his followers are his brothers and sisters, to more involved conjectures: that Joseph had two other wives, whose children would have been step-brothers and sisters to Christ, or that Anne, Mary's mother, had three husbands and three sets of children.

How and why the three unscriptural dogma came to be declared takes up a good part of the book. Much of the raw stuff of subsequent legend can be found in very early apocryphal writings. The second-century Book of James fills in some of what the gospels omit, shifting the emphasis from Christ's adult works to his birth, making much of its miraculous nature and the virginity of his mother. Contemporary beliefs about natural science made conception without physical intercourse plausible, and Church fathers relied on such evidence in their arguments: snakes were supposed to be generated from corpses, mares could be impregnated by the wind, weasels could conceive through the ear (as Mary is shown to do in some paintings of the Annunciation, when she receives the Word). A problem did arise, however, in the philosophical sphere: the Gnostics, a heretical sect, considered the material universe so corrupt that God could not have become man. To counter this view, orthodox theology stressed the humanity of Christ through his mother. Mary had to have been a virgin in order to avoid the pains of childbearing since after the Fall all aspects of birth from conception on were tainted by sin and punished with pain. This fear of the flesh is basic to Mary's cult from the very beginning; it is only virginity that can save woman from the consequences of the Fall, only an ascetic renunciation of the flesh that can combat her nature's particular vice. Death, the other half of Eve's curse, is similarly conquered by Mary's virginity. Since neither her body nor her grave were known, legend had ample space to fill, and again there are early Eastern works which describe her resurrection and her Assumption into Paradise.

With her Assumption (not officially declared until this century), Mary becomes the Queen of Heaven as well as the Bride of Christ, and as both she is a potent symbol for the Church. It was not unusual in pagan Rome to personify qualities or institutions as goddesses; in the same tradition, Mary represents the Church, the new, Christian Rome. Popes used her for propaganda when they struggled for temporal power: as the mother of the Emperor of Heaven, Mary lent validity to the claims of "mother" Church. When she was in heaven, it was on earth. Eventually, of course, secular rulers also took up the analogy between the heavenly and earthly reigns for their own purposes. Kings who had been brought up under queen-mother regents saw themselves as reflections of the Holy

Joan Ferrante teaches medieval literature at Columbia University; her most recent book is Woman as Image in Medieval Literature.

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AS IF

—like a breath passing
over a body—
as if a breath could
have memory—
and the body is
where it was still—
as if a body could
have memory—
as if a body sleeping
knew what it was remembering—
as if memory could
have memory—
the body receives itself
from all within—
as if body could be more
than a breath as if
a breath could be more
than memory as if
memory
could be more than
a door opening behind her
asleep on the white sheet
asleep in the white sheet—
as if the sheet will remember her

Brian Swann

THE QUICKENING

All evening she shifts through the house,
gathering purpose.
Everything is changed now,
she has money in her purse,
she has a weapon.
The moon, snagged in the oak,
is rising out of its black hand,
lights the bedroom.
Under that grim eye,
the bed is luminous, refractive.
As he steps incautiously into its white field,
she will be waiting, approximating sleep:
like the baby suspended inside her;
like a hawk adrift in its fine solution of clouds.

Ellen Bryant Voigt

THE PAST

Like a drawer of cutlery
dumped in
every which-way
it cuts me when I reach
in to rearrange it
into neat silver settings.

Diana Der Hovanessian

DAYBREAK

In this moment when the light starts up
In the east, rubbing
The horizon until it catches fire,

We enter the fields to hoe,
Row after row, among the small flags of onion,
Waving off the dragonflies
That ladder the air.

And tears the onions raise
Do not begin in your eyes but in ours,
In the salt blown
From one blister into another;

They begin from knowing
You will never waken
And bear the hour timed to a heart beat,
The wind pressing us closer to the ground.

When the season ends,
And the onions are unplugged from their sleep,
We will not forget what you failed to see,
And nothing will heal
Under the rain's broken fingers.

Gary Soto

THE WHIPPOORWILL

Light has taken the trees
one by one.
Above the darkening wood
only tall pines stand
against the bluing sky.

Summer dew is falling,
filling all spaces,
the wood behind my house,
the sloping yard, the air
cooling between us. It covers
what it comes to, breathing
a mist on a stone, shining
from the wing of a brown moth.
We let it fall. Listen.

Metal rubs hollow
on brick. We fish
carefully. The cold, cutting
edge of the olive can
pulls on our fingers.
Salty water drops
fade on the patio.

You laugh when I try to whistle
like the slow whippoorwill.
The salt on my tongue confuses
the call. Poor will, you say,
he is dumbfounded
by an odd mate. Your eye
settles on what can be seen,
the white moon rising.
The light has chosen your hair.
Dew glistens. Out of the wood comes
the full-throated answer
to my cry, closer, clearer.

Idris McElveen

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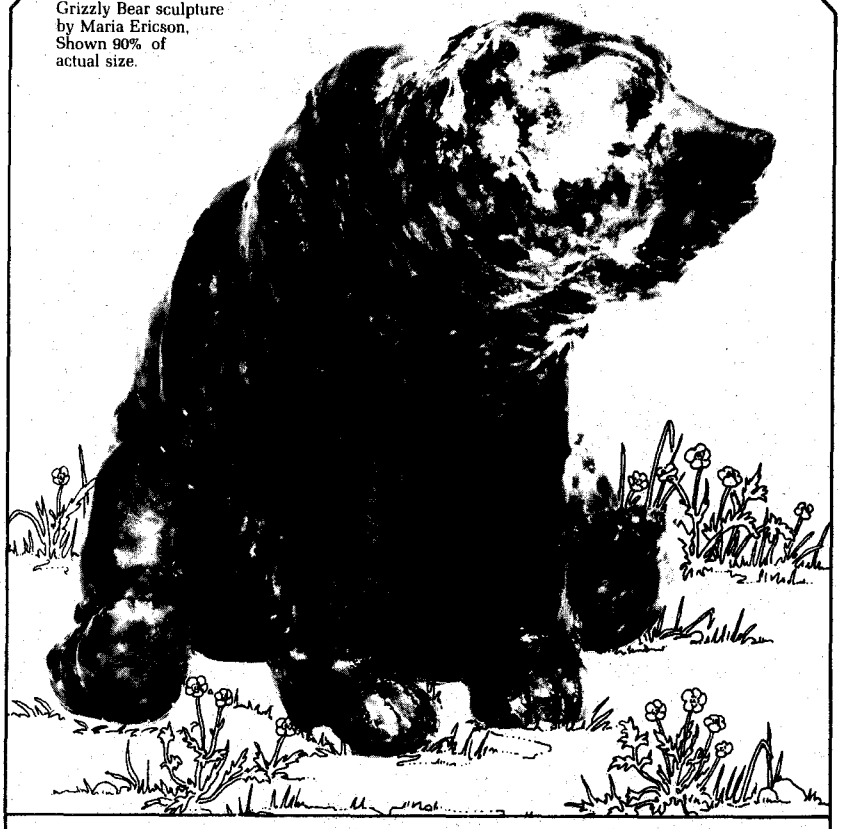
Grizzly Bear sculpture by Maria Ericson. Shown 90% of actual size.



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THE NATION

Son and his Mother. Blanche of Castile, the mother of Louis IX, endowed great works of art like the rose window of Chartres in honor of the Queen of Heaven, in which the glory of one queen was clearly meant to reflect on the other; in some cases, the features bore a resemblance.

Mary's role as Bride of Christ is more complex. It grows out of the traditional readings of the Old Testament *Song of Songs*, the erotic poetry that made its way into Scripture because it was attributed to Solomon. During the period, in the 12th century, when the *Song of Songs* was a popular subject of religious writing, human love was becoming an important subject in secular literature. There is no simple explanation for the phenomenon that is generally known by the disputed name of "courtly love"; Warner expounds the social view, which is certainly valid, although I would also stress the climate of thought, the tendency to allegorize the human condition and personify human qualities as female figures. Whatever the source, there is no question that after barely a century of literary life, religious pressures transmuted, as Warner puts it, "the pagan joy of the troubadours and their heirs . . . into the typical Christian quest for the otherworld through denial of the pleasure in this." The general impulse in 13th-century lyric poetry and chivalric romance is to turn toward religious love out of disillusionment with life on earth. In lyric poetry, Mary, as the Queen of Heaven, can take over the position of the beloved lady with little change in the poetic conventions and, because she holds her position by virtue of her son (not the other way round, as was true of some feudal lords), present no threat to the secular establishment. The object of love in 12th-century lyrics was an independent figure who gave or withheld her favor as she saw fit, a picture that did not suit the anti-feminist climate of the late 13th and 14th centuries (when Salic law was applied against the hereditary rights of royal women in France).

Of course, the Virgin is the logical climax of a lyric tradition which pretended to worship an ideal woman—no earthly woman could rival *her* for perfection. That is why Dante's exaltation of Beatrice in the early 14th century is such a striking departure; he did what no other poet was able to do before or after with the same success—"synthesized the highest Christian ideal of fulfillment through love with the celebration of a living human creature." He does not neglect the Virgin; indeed she is the ultimate source of his journey to

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heaven and the immediate means of his final vision, but she does not replace the human object of his love as the inspiration for his efforts. In fact, Dante makes much of the force of human love; it is not repentance, as Warner suggests, that distinguishes the earthly lovers in Paradise from those in Purgatory—they all had to repent to be where they are—but the intensity of love and the social action it gave rise to that characterize Rahab and Cunizza, the Biblical whore and the contemporary figure of scandal who light up Dante's heaven of Venus. Dante does not share the Church's horror of sex, nonetheless even he can achieve the fullest expression of his love only after the object of it is dead.

A counter-influence made itself felt on the cult of Mary in the 13th century in direct contrast to the literary and symbolic exaltation, the Franciscan ideal of humility. Although Mary had always been praised for her meekness, it was not the dominant feature in pictorial or verbal descriptions until Francis made humility the core of his religious reforms, in emulation of Christ. Warner does not in any way blame St. Francis for what happened to Mary's image; it was simply an unfortunate coincidence that the humble, submissive figure he inspired should fit so well into the Church's view of woman's place, and that it should emerge during a period when aristocrats were less dominant than they had been in earlier periods and bourgeois values were in the ascendant. The Virgin was now shown less often as a regal figure, more as a retiring girl, dressed in homespun, nursing a baby, or as the grieving mother weeping beside the cross. The gentle Mary, however, is still without sin; she may nurse and grieve like other women, but one cannot really identify with her. The need for the example of a real sinner, one who had repented and been saved, was filled by Mary Magdalene. Harlot saints had always been popular—it is intriguing that two of the most important, Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt, share the Virgin's name (the numerous Marys in the Gospels are the subject of an appendix aptly entitled "A Muddle of Marys"). There seems little doubt that the whores are the other face of the virgin; both the virgin and the whore are perceived, as Warner points out, in sexual terms. The nature of Mary Magdalene's sin is not specified in the New Testament, but because women are automatically associated with sex, religious writers assumed she was a whore. As such, she is a major figure through the high Middle Ages and the Counter Reformation.

Meanwhile, the Virgin, who had been Queen and Bride and then humble Mother, becomes more remote from the human sphere. Belief in the Immaculate Conception grows stronger with the support of the Jesuits, partly because it was one of the issues which most sharply divided Catholics from Protestants; finally, in 1854 it was proclaimed official dogma, although scriptural passages which were cited in support of it had long been known to be misreadings. Warner sees a connection between this striking assertion of papal authority and the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870; if she is right, the Virgin was once again used as a tool in the Popes' continual struggle to preserve their dominance. The idea of the Immaculate Conception had existed during the Middle Ages, but major figures like Bernard and Anselm opposed it; for them, the Virgin had, like everyone else, been conceived in sin and was therefore born with original sin. Greek fathers had even ascribed the commission of certain sins to her, a view which was never accepted in the Western Church. By removing all stain of sin from Mary, the Church provides a pure vehicle for Christ's birth, but at the same time denies him ordinary humanity, undermining the positive aspect of the Incarnation of the Word. As Warner comments, the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception was "a final blow for dualism."

If the Virgin was never touched by sin, she could not be touched by physical corruption, that is, she could not die, so once the Immaculate Conception was established as dogma, the Assumption could follow, though not until 1950. Thus the cult of the Virgin continues to evolve. In 1974, in response to new attitudes among women, Pope Paul VI wrote that the Virgin should not be thought of exclusively in relation to Christ but "as a woman whose action helped to strengthen the apostolic community's faith in Christ." Warner, however, does not believe that the image of Mary can be shaped any longer to suit current needs, because the moral code she affirms has been exhausted; despite the Church's ability to accommodate itself continually to contemporary needs, the figure of Mary will recede into legend. In a way, perhaps, by exalting her above all other humans and moving her well beyond the human condition, the Church has itself exiled her from any possible sphere of influence. It is very difficult to identify with her current image, so unlike the voluble figure of medieval miracle plays. And there seems to be no way she can communicate effectively with modern man: miracles occur, or are accepted, less and less frequently, as scientific investigation diminishes the area of the inexplicable; even the visions Mary has inspired in the last century have been commercialized to a point which severely strains the faith of many believers.

There will be sadness for some in Warner's conclusions; for others the implications of her material will be profoundly disturbing; still others may be angered. No one, however, should be put off from reading the book, which offers to all but the most learned Mariologist a wealth of information about the cult of the Virgin, drawing not only from religious and secular history, but also from classical and Eastern myth, scriptural exegesis, popular legend and official dogma. Yet the work is never dry or tedious because the material is so fascinating. There are sections on the symbols connected with Mary and the metamorphoses they undergo, on the fate of relics like her sash, and her milk, which was preserved in phials all over Europe in the 13th century but later, out of a sense of decorum, replaced by her tears as an object of veneration; statues of the Virgin have continued to weep, as late as 1975.

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We are told how the scapular originated, why blue is Mary's color (among other reasons, it was an expensive pigment during the Middle Ages and therefore a fitting tribute from an artist). A chronology at the end gives the important dates in the cult of Mary alongside contemporary events in history and the arts; it produces some tantalizing juxtapositions, e.g., the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 and Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. The scope of the work insures a certain number of slips (small factual errors which do not affect the conclusions so far as I can tell), but the bulk of the material is impressive and it is presented with style, common sense, humor, and a sensitivity to human needs and emotions. The judgments are generally sound and I, for one, am persuaded to accept the conclusions, but that is not essential to an enjoyment of the book. Anyone interested in the Virgin, either as the mother of God within the Christian tradition, or as the Jungian Great Mother, the virgin mother all men supposedly desire, should read it. There can be no understanding of Western attitudes toward women without some attempt to understand the Virgin Mary. □

Ahead of His Day

HENRY WALLACE, HARRY TRUMAN, AND THE COLD WAR. *By Richard J. Walton. The Viking Press. 379 pp. $10.*

VICTOR S. NAVASKY

First, in the English tradition, let me state my interest. I was there. As a teenager, to be sure, but there nevertheless. I carried a poster which read "You Can't Veto Vito (Marcantonio)" on one side, "Friendly Henry Wallace" on the other. I heard Pete Seeger sing "Henry Wallace in the White House" to the tune of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. I went to a ball-park rally and watched Wallace's running mate, Sen. Glen Taylor, orate as an autumn breeze carried away his toupee. I descended into a cabaret where I saw Zero Mostel assault a piano and in between chords of the funeral dirge, lament in the voice of a cantor, "Millard Fillmore is dead (da dum da dum), He was a Shmo -o -o (da dum da dum), and now we have Harry Troooooooman. . . ."

And I guess I hoped that Richard Walton's *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, and the Cold War* would bring back those sweet tunes. Well he doesn't do that. Doesn't try, even. Instead he does something more important. Analysis, not nostalgia, is his game. And Walton's intellectual history of Henry Wallace and the progressive movement in the post-war years performs three public services. First, and most original, he tries with some success to rescue Henry Wallace's reputation from the cold-war historians who have presented him as a curiosity who deviated from the party line only when off on a mystical trip through Ouspensky's eternal now. Walton's Wallace, a serious student of agronomics (he served as Secretary of Agriculture, Vice President of the United States and Secretary of Commerce before he ran for President on the Progressive ticket in 1948) is a true prophet, not of dialectical materialism in this world, or spiritualism in another, but rather of the inevitable consequences of what he regarded as the Truman administration's obsessive anti-communism.

Second, Walton indicts Harry Truman as the founding father of the cold war which eventually heated up into the hot wars of Korea and Indochina. Not that he says Truman himself was a red-baiter but rather that his policies—the Truman Doctrine overseas and the Truman Executive Order on loyalty at home—legitimized the cold war. And third, he dissects and denounces the cold-war liberals who, according to Walton, judged the ecology of any forest by the number of anti-Communist trees. Officially opponents of McCarthyism, they added to the atmosphere that made it possible if not inevitable.

As a rescue mission the book is impressive. Walton is soft on Wallace, but his case is a hard one. One cannot help but be impressed with the list of issues on which Wallace turned out to be if not "right," at least ahead of his day: "Henry Wallace said that the United States could not purchase reliable friends. He said that the United States would end up supporting corrupt, incompetent, and repressive dictators all over the world. He said that the U.S. would not be able to stamp out revolution the world over. He said that the effort to contain communism would be costly in American blood and treasure. He said that a crusade against communism would lead to the repression of civil liberties at home. He said that American foreign

Victor Navasky writes frequently on politics and publishing.

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policy would lead to militarism. He said that the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO would divide the world into hostile camps. He said that Truman's foreign policy would cause the colonial peoples of the world to identify Russia and communism as their friends and the U.S. as their enemy." The list goes on, and Walton notes that Wallace's campaign was the last time the assumptions of our foreign policy were seriously questioned by a serious public figure until the mid-1960s.

One doesn't have to accept all of Walton's arguments to acknowledge that if this be hagiography it is at least as plausible as the cold-war demonology. When Wallace is criticized for criticizing the United States more than Moscow, Walton points out he was running against Truman, not Stalin. Did Wallace's critics claim he was merely mouthing the words of the Communist Party or fellow travelers? Walton cites Wallace's "famous" letter to Harry S. Truman setting forth his basic peaceful co-existence prospectus on July 23, 1946, and this at a time when his main associates were such eminent cold warriors as Dean Acheson and Joseph Alsop. Was Wallace soft on Russian repression of the satellites? "America's challenge to Russian influence over Eastern Europe may have caused the Soviet Union to have been more repressive than it otherwise might have been."

But Walton is not content to praise Wallace. He takes as his second task the harpooning of Truman's resurgent reputation. Again he is less concerned with personality than ideology. He makes a polite bow in the direction of the unprecedented difficulties that confronted the new President—a vast war machine in need of reconversion to peacetime uses, an exhausted world in need of reconstruction, millions of servicemen, returning to high prices, no jobs, consumer goods shortages, and all of this in the long shadow of the legendary FDR. But he cites, as "a blunder of tragic proportions," the conclusion that to oppose Russian communism along its European and Asian frontiers it was necessary to oppose revolution everywhere. Truman bought the Harriman view that we were in the same position relative to Russia in 1946 that we had been relative to Germany in 1933, and that the important thing was to stop Russia before it expanded any further. (Walton argues that there was no basis for thinking Stalin had any plans à la Hitler for military conquest, and even if he had, he lacked the capacity.) While escalating the cold war abroad, in March of 1947, Truman issued Executive Order No. 9358 which established a loyalty program for all federal civil servants (without the right to confront their accusers or other safeguards) at home. Thus did the man who called the Hiss case "a red herring" help legitimize the Red scare.

Finally Walton takes on the cold-war liberals. He believes that while the ADA et al. may have been brave in opposing witch hunting and defending dissenters, at least of the non-Communist variety, they were craven on other cold-war fronts: they approved Truman's Executive Order; they attacked the Progressives as a "front" for the Communists rather than answering the Progressive Party's contention that the Marshall Plan was merely the economic instrument of the Truman Doctrine (which itself gave some ADAers trouble); and they announced as their own policy that they would "reject any association with Communists or sympathizers with Communism in the United States as completely as we reject any association with Fascists or their sympathizers."

Where the ADA said, "Reckless attacks on liberals committed by HUAC in the past have repeatedly strengthened the hand of Communist agents," Walton would simply and sensibly have said that such attacks were wrong, period. But Walton also believes that a nonaligned position such as that espoused by Max Lerner after the 1946 elections (he called for "a trade union movement which, while clearly non-Communist does not spend its energies on redbaiting") was by definition impossible. One was either redbaiter or redbaitee.

Thus he excuses Wallace—who himself came to feel that the Communists had used him—for not repudiating his more manipulative Communist supporters, because "there was no way Wallace could have repudiated them without violating his own principles and adding to the anti-Communist hysteria and repression of civil liberties which he bravely fought." And he tends to stereotype the non-Progressive liberal as wishy-washy in much the same way many of them tended to see all Progressives as Communists or dupes. Consider his contrast of the behavior of Henry Wallace with that of some later liberals.

> Henry Wallace is one of the few top-ranking officials in American history to leave government on a matter of principle and take his case to the public. He was willing to risk his future in public life, whereas the George Balls, the Robert McNamaras, the Adlai Stevensons, the Roger Hillsmans, confined their dissent to Georgetown and Park Avenue cocktail parties. They put loyalty to team and their personal welfare above the national welfare and they did not make enemies in high places.

In the first place, Wallace didn't quit, he was fired (or rather asked to resign, in a letter so intemperate, according to Walton, that on Wallace's own suggestion Truman withdrew it). And in the second place, it is unnecessary, ungenerous and unproven to assume that men like Adlai Stevenson and George Ball were more self-involved than Henry Wallace, or that they didn't *believe* persuasion could be more effective than protest.

Never mind. Henry Wallace has been treated unfairly by history. And Richard Walton, despite his admitted sympathy for his subject and occasional forays into some dubious revisionist futurology (what would have happened if Wallace had been heeded), has made an original, informed and important contribution toward bringing Wallace into focus. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

This year, for the third summer, Artpark, located on state park land at Lewiston, N.Y., is a center for art and other activities. There is a cheerful multimedia aspect to the program which has included videotapes, films, workshops in dressmaking and French cooking, poetry publications, laser beams at night, and "drive-in music" in the parking lot—Max Neuhaus's update of Erik Satie. The busy schedule is designed to attract both casual and studious visitors, and does so. In the conjunction of activities, however, it is the sculpture that seems of particular significance, in the sense of contributing most to its field.

There is a widespread desire, a part of the egalitarian idiom, to get art out of the gallery, out of the museum, and Artpark is one manifestation of this. Another is P.S. 1 in Queens, run by the Institute of Art and Urban Resources. Formerly a public school, the building, a large one, is now a low-rent complex of artists' studios, and P.S. 1 stands for "Project Studios One." The inaugural exhibition in June, in which all kinds of on-site works were scattered through the building from basement to roof, was a first-rate example of the kind of informality in which a spectator can be

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made to feel on the edge of collaboration, a participation beyond looking, thinking and feeling.

In 1974, the first year of Artpark, the program was dedicated to the memory of Robert Smithson, the earthworks sculptor killed the preceding year. The connection with earthworks is essential to the understanding of the sculptures in Artpark. Most of the sculptural projects are built on site and in forms that are responsive to the topography and local materials. To work with the land relaxes and expands the solid structure of sculpture. Robert Grosvenor, who put a couple of his torpedo-like metal tubes in Artpark last year, commented himself that "It's a rather traditional way of working. It is self-contained." His was one of the few works that could be described in these terms. His observation, by the way, is made in a newly published survey of the first two years of the ongoing program, *Artpark: The Program in Visual Arts.* (Artpark is a project of the National Heritage Trust with support from the New York State Council on the Arts.)

Dennis Oppenheim's earthwork of 1975 was the realization of a proposal made in 1970 when he was associated with Smithson and Michael Heizer in early earthworks. Called "Identity Stretch," it consisted of two thumb prints, sprayed in tar over an area of 1,000 by 2,000 feet. Thus a small, unique sign of identity is presented on a colossal scale, proposing an unexpected interplay of meaning and scale. Though large, Oppenheim's piece, like all the sculpture at Artpark, is designed for a brief span. The average cost of materials last year was $1,700 for each artist, which dictates expendable, not enduring, monumentality.

Nancy Holt's piece, "Hydra's Head," like Oppenheim's, is close to the earth and scale-juggling as well. It consists of six circular pits, sunken so that the edges do not protrude over the ground; however, their solid lining causes them to collect water, which cannot drain off into the surrounding soil. Thus there is a pattern of brimming circles, penetrating the earth to an unknown depth and reflecting the sky. The pits are placed according to the star constellation Hydra, their diameters varying with the stars' brightness. Holt sets up an enigmatic and resonant structure that includes in its referents myth, sky, earth and water.

Another piece should be described here to indicate artists' responsiveness to setting: Michelle Stuart's "Niagara Gorge Path Relocated." On an earlier site of the Falls she ran a roll of muslin-backed rag paper, 420 feet long and 5 feet wide, down the rock face, its surface tinted and indented by crushed and impressed local earth. The disintegration of the paper was a speeded-up analogue of the geological changes that had moved the Falls 7 miles south from its location here 12,000 years ago.

The major earthworks of Smithson, Heizer and Walter de Maria of 1969-70 were executed in remote places in the Southwest. Their sites resemble those of 19th-century paintings that presented the American Continent in terms of magnitude and loneliness. At Artpark however we have the socialization of earthworks. The sculptures, located in a park, are incorporated into the framework of public leisure. The allusive component of these later earthworks becomes greater (references to self, to myth) as they have diminished in size. The affiliation of art and locale is maintained but on an intimate and complex scale.

Another example of this blend of the physically real with the symbolic is a projected work by Alan Sonfist in New York City. It is a "Time-landscape," to consist of plantings that will reconstitute the primal forest that once grew on the island. He has worked with an ecologist, a botanist and a city planner to establish the ancient indigenous vegetation. The past will grow in our own time. The work was conceived in the 1960s, and at one point the reconstructed forest interested Thomas Hoving as a possible addition to the Metropolitan Museum. However, when the expansion plans of the museum became a subject of controversy this possibility disappeared. Next Sonfist arranged to plant the forest in the Finch College Museum sculpture garden. In 1974 funds had been raised for the project but the college went bankrupt. A third site seems to have solidly materialized, in Greenwich Village, and has the approval of the Community Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs Committee. (Sonfist will have an exhibition of preparatory material in the gallery at 112 Greene Street in the fall.)

Sonfist did a group of environmental projects at Artpark last year, including collecting rock samples from the original site of Niagara Falls and digging a fertile plot in a flat barren stretch of land to collect seeds from the air. It is, I suppose, an impulse corresponding to the ecology movement, and it is interesting to see how aesthetic order can be brought to natural materials in ways that do not isolate or arrest them. Such works of art are environmentally open, not formally enclosed. It will be good to have the chance to see one functioning as a public work of art. □

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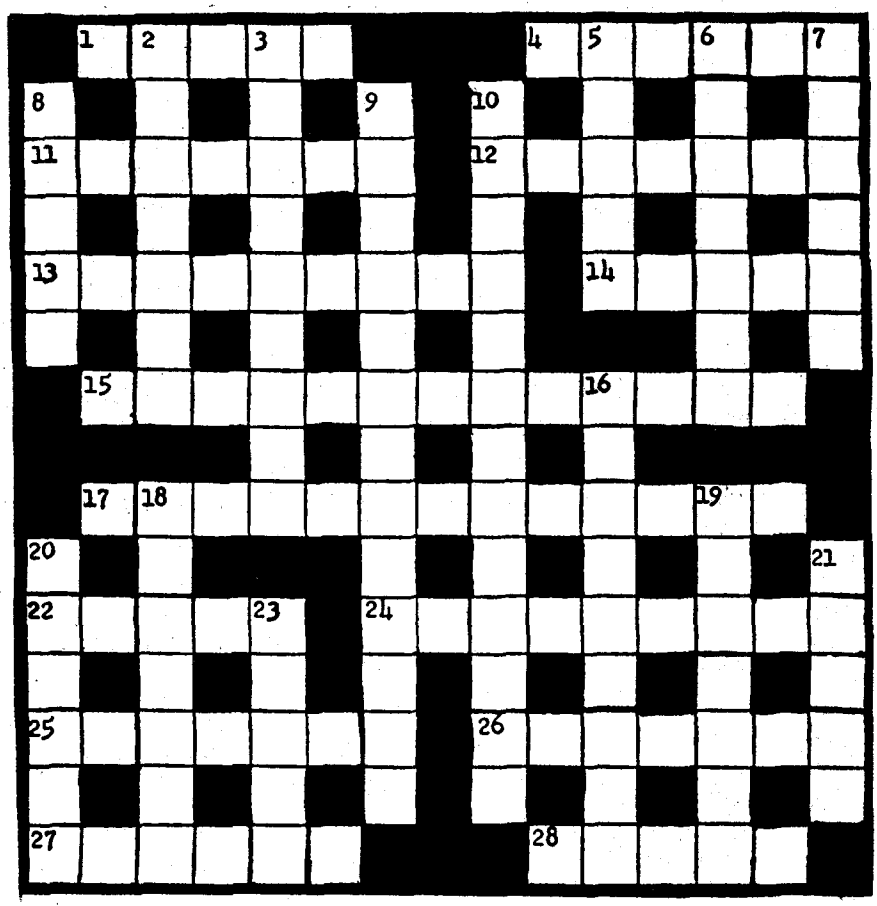
FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The purpose and reach of a shortened thing one looks through? (5)
4 More opportune lingo? You might find one touching. (6)
11 Tinny product of Pakistan, Nicaragua, and elsewhere. (7)
12 It might be complex to put nothing on the upside arrangement. (7)
13 Relative in the absence of pollution, or a sign of progress in that direction. (2,7)
14 Loves the problem of how to get the answer. (5)
15 A good club has them moving arms and legs. (6,7)
17 Notice it's equal to our time shortly? (13)
22 Nymph? You can have part of the day with one. (5)
24 Rhizome. (9)
25 Part of the utensil I connect with nonmetallic element. (7)
26 Those who tell no tales are changed—probably for the better. (7)
27 Stop in a sort of side street briefly. (6)
28 Makes music such as Shakespeare wrote. (5)

DOWN

2 A girl gets between 100 and 99—obviously of avowed excellence. (7)
3 One of those silent 28 perhaps, "Mame" in top form. (9)
5 The heights of human destiny. (5)
6 One might be too old to be called a little nipper quite often. (7)
7 Bacon perhaps was less careful. (6)
8 Taking advantage of the gun is by design. (5)
9 Would such a one be likely to take misfortune lying down? (8,5)
10 Shifting cargo, no less, in two houses involved with such things. (13)
16 Did a burst of it give proof to a standard display at one time? (9)
18 In which each side has a pair of folds. (7)
19 At which time 26? (7)
20 Sounds too pure to be pursued. (6)
21 It might be a drag if you use them—though they could be dangerous. (5)
23 In case such people need direction to make it? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1644

ACROSS: 1 Safety curtain; 10 Topless; 11 Cremona; 12 At any rate; 13 and 23 A shot in the dark; 14 Dog-fox; 16 Sojourns; 19 Grimaces; 20 Athena; 22 Piled; 25 Gumshoe; 26 In order; 27 Standing order. DOWN. 2 Alpha; 3 Every now and then; 4 Yes-man; 5 Uncle Tom; 6 The man of the hour; 7 Iron horse; 8 Stray dog; 9 Part; 15 Guillemot; 17 Spankers; 18 Beriberi; 21 String; 22 Page; 24 Addle.

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